

*The Queen's General*

John Churchill

Duke of MARLBOROUGH

1650-1722

AN EXHIBITION OF  
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## INTRODUCTION

The reign of Queen Anne and the career of its greatest public figure, John, Duke of Marlborough, are subjects of perennial interest to students of English history and literature. As early as the 1730's lives of the Queen and histories of the reign were published serially as inducements to attract subscribers to newspapers, and the flow of materials on the period has never abated from that time to this. The selection of materials currently on exhibit in the Spencer Library serves to illustrate both the range of materials that issued from the presses in the early eighteenth century and the manner in which Marlborough, his exploits, and his policies, dominated public affairs for so long a time. This exhibit also serves to highlight the great strength of the holdings of the Department of Special Collections in eighteenth century English imprints. Our collection is now estimated to include some 20,000 pieces from the eighteenth century and it has come in the space of a remarkably few years to be one of the major research libraries in the country in this field. For Anne's reign alone the manuscripts include the Methuen-Simpson correspondence, 1692-1708, which provides a wealth of new detail about domestic politics and the conduct of the war in Spain; the run of teller's records which exceeds that of any comparable series in the Public Record Office in England; and the journal and letterbooks of Sir John Jennings while he was commander of the English mediterranean fleet, 1710-1713. The printed materials are, of course, still more extensive. The centerpiece of the periodicals is the Bond collection, with its unrivalled sets of original issues of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. But we also possess many other titles, including a fine run of the *Present State of Europe*, its Dutch source, the *Mercure Historique et Politique*, the annals of Boyer and Jones, and representative examples of many other newspapers.

The holdings of books and pamphlets for the period 1702-1714 number nearly two thousand pieces, including rare broadsides and political tracts, the publications of all the celebrated literary figures who provided the "paper artillery" which enlivened the political disputes—Swift, Defoe, Pope, Steele, Addison, Arbuthnot, &c.—and a goodly supply of the sermons which adorned the bookshelves of all godfearing Englishmen.

This is a bounty of great riches, containing material to delight, entertain and educate students at every level, from the newest undergraduate to the most senior professor. It is a resource in which the people of Kansas can take conscious pride.

HENRY L. SNYDER



*Under the leadership of MARLBOROUGH*, an inspired general and practised diplomat, Europe and England managed to stave off the juggernaut of Louis XIV's France from 1702 to 1713: delaying Imperial France for a century. This man had been an obscure courtier for his first fifty-two years; he owed his advancement to women's influence, not his own merits; and after ten years of astounding victories and popular adulation, domestic enemies shamed him, stripped him of his powers, and sent him into quasi-exile as the effective end of his life.

He was a moderate man caught in the birth of party politics; a reserved man who knew how to charm, persuade, beg, and flatter; a man of principles which were not the principles of the age; a patient and outwardly calm man whose most shattering tactics were those of decisive surprises carried out at inhuman speed; a noble man whose character remains mysterious despite the best efforts of vitriolic pamphleteers and laudatory poetasters.

He died two hundred and fifty years ago. He left us the talented unpredictable family of the Churchills; a gigantic stone triumph in the form of a house; a song; and innumerable reflections in the writings of the Age of Queen Anne. In his honour we are displaying a few of the last.

#### CASE 1. *Preparation: 1665-1702.*

##### VENUS AND MARS.

John Churchill was born at the height of the Commonwealth in a ruined West Country house to half-ruined Royalist gentry. His family had some Commonwealth connections, and used them to keep above water; on the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 life became only a little easier. John's elder sister Arabella went to Court, and became the mistress of Charles' brother James, Duke of York, by whom she had several bastards. It was probably through her influence that the fifteen-year-old John was made a page in the Duke of York's household; such influence was nothing out of the way nor particularly shameful. John conducted himself well and became acquainted with one of the King's pages named Sidney Godolphin.

When John was seventeen, the martial Duke gave him a commission as Ensign in the 1st Foot Guards. From 1668 to 1671 he apparently served in the Army and with the Fleet in Tangier and the Mediterranean.

When Churchill returned to Court he became the lover of Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, the principal mistress of King Charles. In 1674 he laid the foundation of his future fortunes by buying an annuity with £5000 which Barbara had probably given him.

1. *Memoirs of the life of Count du Grammont*. . . . Translated from the French by Mr Boyer. London, J. Round, 1714.

Churchill and Barbara appear as an anecdote in this entertaining and unreliable history of the amorous intrigues of the Restoration Court as seen by an exile from Louis XIV's court. It was ghost-written by Anthony Hamilton, Grammont's brother-in-law and a connection by marriage of Churchill's. Publication was delayed until 1713; Abel Boyer, the Whig annalist of Queen Anne's reign, produced this translation in the following year.

2. *Secret memoirs and manners of several persons of quality, of both sexes. From the New Atalantis* [sic] . . . 2nd ed. London, J. Morphew, 1709.

A *roman-à-clef* compounded of slander, pornography, and insipidity by Mrs Mary Manley in 1709. Although Mrs Manley was quickly arrested for the libel, its popularity had been instantaneous, and she vowed she had no one in mind. This edition of *The New Atlantis* contains a key to the characters: Churchill figures as Count Fortunatus.

Meanwhile King Charles, temporizing at home between the Church, the Catholics, and the Dissenters, secretly signed a treaty with Louis XIV, promising military aid against the Low Countries, England's religious allies and commercial rivals, in return for present financial support by the formidable European power. The possibility of imposing Catholicism on Protestant England with French soldiers was also covered.

In 1672 England and France attacked the Dutch. The Duke of York, accompanied by Churchill, commanded the English fleet in the disastrous battle of Sole Bay off the Suffolk coast, where the Dutch smashed the English and French forces; nevertheless Churchill won promotion to a captaincy in the Maritime Regiment.

3. *The Battle of Sole Bay*. Engraving in *Teatro del Belgio ó sia descrizione delle diecisette provincie del medesimo . . . descritta del Conte Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato*. Frankfurt, 1673.

This description of the Low Countries, illustrated with handsome plans of the fortified cities and a special section on the 1672 hostilities, hit the market in 1673, written by a retired military officer who supported himself by writing mediocre military histories and books of travel. It is not a common book, but a German edition appeared in Vienna in the same year: apparently the Empire was curious about France's northern front.

4. *A justification of the present war against the United Netherlands*. . . London, H. Hills and John Starkey, 1676. 2

This typical propaganda pamphlet was written by Henry Stubbs (or Stubbe), a part-time physician, part-time polemical pamphleteer, who held no set views of his own. He takes a comparatively unpopular side here in upholding the government. The printer, Henry Hills, was the King's Printer. He had been a Dissenter during the Commonwealth, became a Catholic under James, and fled for his life to France in 1688; his son Henry became a notorious piratical printer.

Churchill's first recorded military victory took place in 1673 during the siege of Maastricht by Louis and his great fortification and siege engineer, Vauban. The small English contingent under the Duke of Monmouth (Charles' illegitimate eldest son) which was chosen to make the first direct assault on the city included Churchill. They captured a half-moon work and handed it over to supporting troops; as they were resting back in camp the Dutch retook the half-moon at a stroke; infuriated, Monmouth, Churchill, a handful of Englishmen, and D'Artagnan and his musketeers ran forward recklessly and recaptured the work. In this action D'Artagnan was killed. The city capitulated, Louis thanked Churchill publicly, and Monmouth praised him to Charles as "the brave man who saved my life."

5. Louis surveying the siege of Maastricht. Engraving in *Les petites conquêtes 1672-1678* (vol. 15 of the *Cabinet du Roi*, the gigantic set of engravings of Louis XIV's triumphs and possessions produced for his pleasure in the early 18th century).

Note the fortification-plan in the vignette.

In 1674 peace was signed with the Dutch, and Charles made his peace with his Protestant Parliament by ostensibly breaking with

Louis during Danby's "Church and King" administration. The English troops in France became semi-mercenaries. Louis appointed Churchill a French colonel to command one of these regiments on Monmouth's recommendation, and Churchill had the luck to serve under the great general Turenne in the French attacks on the Empire.

6. An account of the battle of Enzheim in 1674. In: *La vie du vicomte de Turenne . . . par Mr. du Buisson. Nouvelle édition.* La Haye, H. van Bulderen, 1688.

This is probably the work of Gatien de Courtitz de Sandras, whose habit it was to pick a name interesting to the public and weave about it what, Michaud says, amounted to a historical romance. He preferred living in Holland; but his pro-French publications made it necessary to flee to France, where he ended up in the Bastille.

In this battle, Churchill reported to Monmouth, he had lost half the officers of his battalion in the Petit Bois. "I durst not brag much of our victory."

He returned to Court in 1675 as a handsome, debonair, and up-and-coming military man; met Sarah Jennings, a vivacious fifteen-year-old girl in the Duchess of York's household; and began to court her. Her family was slightly better off and slightly less genteel than his, but by no means was it the match that either could have made: for a man whose stinginess was made legend by his enemies it was laughably impractical.

It is hard to judge Sarah at this distance. Most of the evidence she has left us was written long after the sparkling light wine of her youth had matured into vintage vinegar; most other evidence comes from her enemies. She seems to have been pretty, intelligent, energetic, fearless, self-willed, witty, short-tempered, and impatient with foot-dragging. It is certain she made two conquests: Churchill, whose letters written for the rest of his life from all the battle-fields of Europe reveal whole-hearted love to the point of uxoriousness, and patient rational moderation; and Lady Anne, the sickly ten-year-old younger daughter of the unpopular younger brother of the King. Item 7 is Sarah's own account of the beginning of her career as Queen Anne's best friend.

7. *An account of the conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, from her first coming to court, to the year 1710. In a letter from herself to My Lord —.* London, 1742.

Sarah wrote this self-justification, assisted by Nathaniel Hooke, when she was eighty-two, still shrewd and shrewish. Popular despite its out-of-date coverage, it came out in a number of editions. The copy shown here is a cheap edition, set in compressed type to save paper, but with a woodblock portrait of Sarah. It resembles the "dying confessions" of criminals which were commonly sold to a barely literate public, and may have been aimed at that market. Other editions are shown in Case 7.

#### THE DUKE OF YORK'S HOUSEHOLD.

Churchill and Sarah married in 1677, despite family opposition, and for the rest of their lives exhibited a passionate devotion to each other. Churchill became a court functionary in the Duke of York's household, perhaps because he was now more interested in Sarah than in military life. He began his diplomatic career now: he and Godolphin were sent to Spain and Holland to arrange a new military alliance against France. Churchill and William of Orange (now married to the Duke's eldest daughter, Mary) got on well, and the Peace of Nijmegen was forced on Louis.

At this point, however, Titus Oates brought down the government with his "discovery" of a Popish Plot to seat the Duke of York on the throne. The new Parliament was uncompromisingly anti-James, and James remained stubbornly Catholic, although he had allowed his daughters to be brought up as Protestants so that they might be considered as heirs to the throne. So in 1679 the Duke of York went into unofficial exile, first in the Low Countries and then in Scotland, accompanied by the Churchills, who, although Protestants, had tied their fortunes to his dimming star. Churchill was one of James' closest servants in these times, running diplomatic errands to Paris, the Low Countries, the Court, and the Parliament; but James under pressure became more and more stubborn, tyrannical, and unreasonable—a difficult master for a moderate man to serve efficiently.

The political storm died down, and James was called back to England in 1682. On the voyage home his ship sank, and, to the nation's scandal, only James and those he favoured—some forty out of three hundred—were saved. Among these was Churchill. Item 8 is a contemporary account of the incident.

8. *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, no. 111 (12-16 May). London, R. Janeway, 1682.

Such little news-sheets—part foreign and domestic news, part propaganda, part advertisements—were endemic. Richard Janeway had begun as a fanatically Protestant publisher at the height of the Popish Plot furor; but he quarreled with the other Protestant news-sheet publishers and started this sheet (as *The True Protestant Mercury*) in 1681. Other sheets referred scornfully to this account of the disaster by Janeway.

Churchill and Sarah returned to Court where Anne's attachment to Sarah became their *raison d'être*. Slow, stubborn, timorous Anne loved and trusted the dashing young woman who could sum up a situation wittily and instantly, and with no second thoughts. After Anne's marriage in 1683 to Prince George of Denmark—a pleasant and unambitious young man who also won Anne's whole-hearted devotion—it was her pleasure that the two young matrons should talk together as Mrs Morley (Anne) and Mrs Freeman (Sarah) "to import nothing of distinction of rank between us." The Churchills had, in fact, attached themselves to a very dark horse. Anne was little considered as a possible heir to the throne: the three serious rivals were James, Charles' younger brother and the legal heir; Monmouth, Charles' illegitimate son; and William of Orange, the son of Charles' sister, and the husband of James' eldest daughter. James was backed by Charles because he was the legal heir, but his personality and open Catholicism were widely unpopular, and he was too rigid to adjust to dissension. Monmouth was popular and Protestant; and William was Protestant and had already shown in Holland that he knew the art of ruling. However, he was personally unlikeable and had dedicated himself primarily to the welfare of Holland. But Churchill had another card in his hand: he was also "best friends" with the quietly efficient Godolphin, a moderate Tory who was rapidly becoming essential to the administration.

#### THE PRACTICE OF BETRAYAL.

In 1685 King Charles died suddenly, and James succeeded him with little difficulty. The new administration was the old administration, James acted tolerantly at first, and the basic Tory philosophy was to accept one's legitimate king. Churchill continued his diplomatic duties, such as going to France to beg a continuation of the secret subsidy Louis had been sending to Charles. But then Monmouth invaded the West Country, proclaiming himself rightful king, and raising the Whigs, anti-Catholics, and peasantry against James. Churchill changed back to a soldier and marched west in the

service of his King against his former comrade and patron. At the last moment an imported French general, a figure of fun called Feversham, was put in charge of the royal forces instead of Churchill. Monmouth made a desperate night attack: though Feversham was asleep, Churchill was awake: and the royal forces crushed Monmouth's amateur army on the boggy plain of Sedgemoor, just west of Glastonbury.

9. *Gazette de Londres*, no. 1945, 1946, 1958 (18 June-9 July 1685).  
[T. Newcomb, à la Savoye, 1685.]

How the news of Sedgemoor reached the Continent. *The London Gazette* (formerly *The Oxford Gazette*) was the official newspaper, compiled by a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State; this is its French edition. The *Gazette* was excellent for foreign news and official news such as speeches and promotions at court (an officer is still "gazetted" to a higher rank in the Army). When its circulation dropped in the early 18th century because of competition by more lively newspapers, the government appointed such writer-politicians as Richard Steele to produce a more literate, biased, and accurate item (Marlborough had become so incensed at the distortion of his despatches that he requested the *Gazette* to omit them altogether). It is still being published: current numbers may be read in the Documents Department of the University Libraries.

10. *An account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c.* [London, B. G. for S. Keble, 1685.]

*An account of what passed at the execution of the late Duke of Monmouth, on Wednesday the 15th of July, 1685 on Tower-Hill . . .* [London, R. Horne, J. Baker, B. Took, 1685]

Such pamphlets and broadsides kept the public instantly up to date with the latest shocking news.

11. "Caesar's Ghost." Printed here in *Poems on Affairs of State: from the time of Oliver Cromwell, to the abdication of K. James the second. Written by the greatest Wits of the age . . . published without any castration.* 4th ed., 1702.

An anonymous poem satirizing Feversham, Churchill, and the rest of the Army staff. The first version of the popular collection, *Poems on Affairs of State*, appeared in 1689. Most of these satires had been circulated secretly in manuscript before the licensing laws were relaxed.

Monmouth's rebellion brought out James' latent tyranny. Judge Jeffreys' Bloody Assizes executed or exiled the miserable remnant of Monmouth sympathizers with no mercy, little justice, and not much

law. The whole nation, without regard to political sympathies, was distressed at the spectacle. The Army was tripled in size, drilled under the King's eye, and given Catholic officers. James had all his Stuart stubbornness set on making England Catholic but Anglican England was resolved to stay Anglican—and this included most of the Tories who had at first supported his accession. Churchill wrote to William of Orange in 1687: "My places and the King's favour I set at nought, in comparison of being true to my religion. In all things but this the King may command me." James, thwarted, arranged an alliance between the Catholics and Dissenters against the Anglicans, and began staffing the Church and the Government with non-Anglicans; the Tories, spiritually afraid of the Whore of Babylon and mundanely afraid of the power of France, began communicating with Protestant William despite their political principles—indeed, they moved towards co-operation with the Whigs. It was rumored that James meant to declare Anne next in succession if she would turn Catholic: alarmed and disgusted she set all *her* Stuart stubbornness against her father and vowed not to desert her religion, supported by the Churchills and her husband.

Meanwhile Churchill remained a Lord of the Bedchamber and one of James' most reliable generals, while Sarah was soothing and strengthening Anne and keeping her out of the way of her father.

By 1688 the political division was between the moderate anti-James faction and the extreme anti-James faction. The former urged delay since the King might lose power or die leaving a Protestant heir; the latter was making arrangements with William. But in June the King broke openly with the administration of the Church, and a son—potentially Catholic—was born to him. The extremists instantly summoned William, and started the propaganda machine spreading the rumour that the child was an impostor, smuggled into the birth-chamber in a warming-pan.

12. *State-Amusements, serious and hypocritical, fully exemplified in the abdication of King James the Second, containing an account of the most remarkable amusements that happen'd in the government of that prince: with the names of the several princes of Europe that congratulated him on the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales. Also . . . a true list of the members of both universities that amused His Majesty upon that occasion: with . . . copies of amusing verses. . . . And . . .*



*that most amusing declaration of the Lords and Commons . . . presented to . . . the Prince and Princess of Orange, at Whitehall, Feb. 13, 1688/9. London, 1711.*

Public documents 1685-1689, and panegyric odes on the birth of the Prince, served up in a thin sauce of ironical narrative, demonstrating the hypocrisies of James, his supporters and opponents. "Amusement" at the end of the seventeenth century usually meant a military tactic: a deception or feint causing the enemy to attend to the wrong quarter.

13. *A plain proof of the true father and mother of the pretended Prince of Wales. . . . By William Fuller. London, the author, 1700.*

Fuller, a professional recusant Jacobite, started exposing Jacobite plots about 1690, sponsored by Titus Oates, and produced a stream of documents implicating governmental figures which did not cease even when he was imprisoned in 1702. (He died in prison in 1717.) He had, according to this pamphlet, seen the warming-pan and assisted at the murder of the real mother. Waves of such pamphlets appeared whenever there was the danger of a Jacobite invasion.

14. *The Prince of Orange his declaration: shewing the reasons why he invades England. With a short preface, and some modest remarks on it. London, R. Taylor, 1688.*

Gilbert Burnet, a Scottish divine at The Hague with William, gives the history of this important document which he abridged considerably when it was given to him to be translated into English.

It lists the legal wrongs, the ineffectual remedies, and the question of the Prince's birth. William declares "this our Expedition, is intended for no other Designe, but to have a free and lawfull Parliament assembled. . . ." It is probably true that William did not particularly want to be King of England, but he did want to control England as an ally against France. With England—and that excellent army which James had prepared—Europe as a whole had a chance against France.

This edition is anti-William: it includes "Animadversions" upon the Declaration and upon the Additional Declaration.

William landed in the West in November. Although James had alienated almost everybody, logistics and the memory of Monmouth made William's supporters slow to gather. James and his Army gathered at Salisbury, but the Army was reluctant and disaffected. Some time was spent in dismal conferences; finally Lieutenant-General Churchill went over to William's side taking the Duke of Grafton (Charles' son by Barbara Villiers) and some four hundred offi-

cers with him. The next day Prince George deserted James; cities and counties plumped for William; the Fleet was handed over to him; and Anne and Sarah fled from London to the rebels by night. It seems that it was indeed Churchill who tipped the balance. By the end of the year James, his wife and his son (later the Old Pretender) had fled to France with William's aid; and the Glorious (because bloodless) Revolution was over.

15. *The history of the Revolution, and the establishment of England in the year 1688. . . .* By Laurence Echard. London, J. Tonson, 1725.

A common 18th-century view of Churchill's action.

Churchill, under the nominal command of two Dutch generals, reconstituted the Army for William, and Sarah persuaded Anne to agree that she would not succeed her sister Mary directly, but wait until William's death. William made Churchill Earl of Marlborough—an extinct title with a slight family connection. The general war against France was declared in May 1689, and Marlborough was sent to direct it in Flanders, where, although he was sneered at as "the general of favour," he surprised the public by doing well. Meanwhile James was making trouble in Ireland for William, who defeated him in the Battle of the Boyne, but was still vulnerable to a French invasion by way of Ireland. In September 1690 Marlborough formed a plan to take the ports of Cork and Kinsale, risking the possibility of a French invasion behind him. He carried out his plan, "his first independent command," with great success despite opposition from the Council, from the Dutch generals, and from Queen Mary; and despite having to work with a mixed bag of English, Dutch, and other foreign troops.

But William appears not to have trusted Marlborough after 1690. He did not reward him with the positions he expected, and although he occasionally allowed Marlborough to fight on the Continent, it was only under the King's personal command; and William, although with great "bottom" and a good leader of men, was not an inspired general. Anne and Mary had quarreled before 1689 was out over Anne's independent income; Anne, backed by the Marlboroughs, won her allowance and her right to treat separately with Parliament; Mary never forgave the Marlboroughs. Marlborough complained openly about his treatment, and stirred up Parliament against the Dutch *comitatus* which had replaced the French

one. He also, like other politicians in that small society, communicated with James' court-in-exile, probably partly to keep an eye on what was brewing, and partly to keep in touch with friends and relations such as the Duke of Berwick, James' son by Arabella Churchill, now rising in the French army.

A plot was reported to their Majesties: that Marlborough planned a revolt in favour of Anne. Mary ordered Anne to dismiss Sarah. Anne, in all her immovable stubbornness, refused. So Mary broke with Anne and never spoke to her again, and William dismissed Marlborough from the Court, the Army, and all his offices. Anne and Sarah exiled themselves from Court likewise. Marlborough was implicated from time to time in plots to restore James, but was always cleared; even the allegations of later historians concerning the betrayal of the forces attacking Brest have been explained away by Marlborough's biographer, Winston Churchill; at the present time the evidence which shows that Marlborough was plotting seriously with the Jacobites is tainted; but there is no evidence to prove him innocent. Evidence supplied by Jacobite and anti-Papist sources indicates, indeed, that all the members of the government were crypto-Jacobites—an implausible theory.

Marlborough spent most of William's reign in a semi-retired state. After Mary's death in 1694 William, Anne, and Sarah had been formally reconciled; and by 1698 William relented enough to allow Marlborough to be "governor" of Anne's son, the Duke of Gloucester. Marlborough's daughters meanwhile married: Henrietta to Godolphin's son; Anne to Sunderland's son.

#### PREPARING FOR THE FINAL WAR AGAINST LOUIS.

The great constant figure in the background of Marlborough's life is Louis XIV, whether as employer or opponent. Louis had come to the throne in 1643, aged five. In 1667 he had in his hands the only real national power in Europe, monolithic, wealthy, and anxious for conquest: Spain was dying, Germany and the Empire were fragmented and harassed by Eastern enemies, Italy did not exist, England was a small island engrossed in its own troubles. Louis began to see how great France could be, not only in Europe, but in the New World, Africa, and India. He started upon a series of Continental wars in which he was, in general, successful, but by which he frightened away his possible allies by his obvious impartial

territorial ambitions, and his intolerance of Protestants wherever found.

16. *Histoire militaire du regne de Louis le Grand . . . enrichie des plans necessaires . . . Par M. le marquis de Quincy.* Paris, D. Mariette, 1726. 7 vols.

The author, Charles Sevin, Marquis de Quincy, served under Louis as a lieutenant general of artillery, was wounded at Blenheim, retired to a civil position after the Peace of Utrecht, and produced this important history partly as a manual of tactics. This is the only edition.

William had been defending the Provinces of the Low Countries against Louis by forming rather unsuccessful alliances until he became King of England. He immediately formed an alliance of Spain, Holland, England, Sweden, Savoy, the Empire, and others, to resist Louis; and in 1689 the War of the Grand Alliance, which would last until 1697, began. Items 17 and 18 typify pamphlets backing the war.

17. *The true interests of the princes of Europe in the present state of affairs: or reflections upon a pamphlet written in French, entituled, a Letter from Monsieur, to Monsieur, concerning the transactions of the time.* London, R. Baldwin, 1689.

Open to a lament for the vanished balance of power. This substantial pamphlet jibes at the French government "whose particular artifice is to cover Europe and fill foreign Courts with little pamphlets . . . tending to throw division in states." The author fought fire with fire: the pamphlet also appeared in French, combined French and German, and Spanish editions, published in Amsterdam and Cologne.

18. *The politicks of the French king Lewis XIV. discovered . . . translated from the French. . . .* London, M. Wotton, 1689.

Another demonstration that all countries were endangered by France, which was also issued in the same year under the title *The present policies of France and the maxims of Lewis XIV plainly . . . laid open; detecting . . . his intrigues. . . .* This may have been a device to increase sales.

19. *The present French king demonstrated an enemy to the Catholic as well as Protestant religion. Translated from the French copy, printed at Turin in Savoy. With a seasonable epistle to the Jacobites.* London, T. Goodwin, 1691.

Shows, quite accurately, that Louis rejected Papal authority, and attacked fellow Catholics such as the Kingdom of Savoy.

Despite the large forces ranged against Louis the war ended in what was essentially a stalemate, although the Low Countries had gained a "barrier" of strong points on the French borders, most of which had been fortified by Vauban. (Modern war consisted of slowly manoeuvring large bodies of men into threatening positions and accepting the obvious outcome; and of defending and besieging fortresses by a system of trenches. The Low Countries were reticulated by roads and canals, and at every node was a French, Dutch, or Spanish fortress or fortified city.) Peace prevailed for a time. Louis and William quietly arranged the two "Partition Treaties" of 1698 and 1699, dividing up Europe and Spanish overseas trading rights among France, the Empire, and the "Maritime Powers" (England and Holland) in anticipation of the death of the King of Spain. But the treaties aroused general indignation, and the Emperor refused to ratify the second one, which would have assigned Spain, Belgium, and the overseas trade to the Emperor's younger son, the Archduke Charles (provided these lands never became part of the Empire), and Italy to the Dauphin.

20. *The treaty between the Most Christian King, the King of Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, for settling the succession of the Crown of Spain. . . . In English and French.* London, A. Baldwin, 1700.

The ratification of the second treaty, dated 3 March 1700 (N.S.).

A. Baldwin is Anne Baldwin, widow of Richard Baldwin who was the printer of item 17. It was fairly common for women to become printers or publishers through the death of their husbands or fathers, and to keep the press going on their own.

But Charles II of Spain made a will in October 1700 (persuaded by Louis) leaving Spain and all its possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin of France. Charles died in November; and Louis accepted the bequest.

21. *Testament de Charles II. Roy d'Espagne, fait le 2d. d'Octobre 1700.* Paris, F. Leonard, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi, 1700.

In French and Spanish. Philip was actually 18 at the time, although the portrait looks younger. He was never particularly intelligent, was subject to melancholia, and pined for France and the French throne until he died in 1746.

This bequest meant that Spain and France, for practical purposes, formed one gigantic empire adding the vigour of France and the militancy of Louis to the vast extent of Spanish possessions. The first effect was inroads on commerce in South America, Africa and the Mediterranean; the second was the loss of the "Barrier fortresses" won by the Maritime Powers in the War of the Grand Alliance—the mixed Spanish-Dutch garrisons surrendered them peacefully to the French.

22. *Two letters to a friend concerning the Partition Treaty vindicating His Majesty, King William, from all reflections; and answering the arguments of a late designing party, that were surrendering to the French King the whole Spanish monarchy.* London printed, and reprinted in Dublin, M. Gunne, 1702.

The first reaction in England was to blame William for treacherously and secretly negotiating the Partition Treaty: this item is a rather weak defense of William against the Tories, probably first printed in 1700. Marlborough joined in these protests.

23. *The Duke of Anjou's succession further consider'd, as to the danger that may arise from it to Europe in general: but more particularly to England, and the several branches of our trade. Part II.* . . . London, J. Milner, 1701.

A Whig pamphlet: the nation of shopkeepers turning again to war.

24. *The French King's declaration to the States of Holland. Faithfully translated.* . . . *Given at Versailles, the 5th of August 1701.* London, T. Everret, 1701.

Broadside encouraging the Dutch to remain peaceable: probably translated and printed in England by Louis' opponents.

Meanwhile other fateful royal deaths had occurred. In 1700 Anne's only living child, the Duke of Gloucester, died of smallpox. This raised the question of the succession again. Both William and Anne were sickly. William had no heir, and Anne—who had had 16 fruitless pregnancies—was obviously not going to supply one. Bypassing James, and a Catholic branch, the succession was settled on the house of Hanover, descendants of James I, by a bill passed in June 1701. Then in September 1701 James II died, and Louis recognised his son, "The Old Pretender," as King James III of

England. This infuriated most of the populace, which still believed in the warming-pan, and if they wanted a Jacobite king did not want one foisted on them by France.

25. *The great bastard, protector of the little one. Done out of French. . . .* London, 1701.

"The little one" is James III; "the great one" is Louis. A scurrilous pamphlet, showing that Louis XIII could never have sired Louis XIV. This is a new edition of a work which appeared in 1689 in "Cologne," and in Amsterdam (as *Den ouden Bastaard. . .*); then in 1690 as *L'ancien Batard. . .* translated from English and probably printed in Amsterdam, and as *Der alte Bastard. . . erstlich in Holländischer Sprache beschreiben. . . .* in "Constantinopel" (probably Frankfurt). In 1702 two more editions appeared: *Den Grooten Fransen Bastaard. . . uit het Engelsch*, in "Trianon" (probably Amsterdam); and *L'ancien bâtarde* (perhaps printed in Paris). The appeal of scurrilous politics is international, and so are scurrilous printers.

William, shaken by the threat to Holland, and a sick man, began to reconstitute the Grand Alliance, and to persuade the Parliament and the English nation to forsake their recent belligerent pacifism—in which they had almost completely disbanded the army—and isolationism. He did have the Whigs on his side, although they were a minority. For the last few years Marlborough had been quietly gaining in favour: although by nature a Tory he was not extreme in his views, and was married to Sarah, a forthright business-woman who found the Whigs very sensible—she even liked her son-in-law Lord Spencer (later Earl of Sunderland), a virulently extremist republican. Whatever the reason, in June 1701 William made Marlborough Commander-in-Chief of the English forces assembling in Holland, and Ambassador Extraordinary to the United Provinces, with full powers to conclude treaties.

Meanwhile the first unofficial belligerent move against France had been taken by Prince Eugene of Savoy, the young general of the Emperor's army in Austria. During the summer he fought the French in Northern Italy, until he effectively occupied Lombardy.

Marlborough at first treated for peace: the Emperor, England, and Holland agreed they would be satisfied with a permanent division of the French and Spanish crowns, a permanent Barrier between France and Holland consisting of the Spanish Netherlands and Luxembourg (to be held by the Emperor), Italy to be ceded to the Empire, and James III to be disowned by Louis. Louis, not sur-

prisingly, did not agree. So Marlborough drew up the treaty, signed it for England, and arranged the matters of forces and responsibilities. The Dutch found him charming, and all went well.

At home, however, fresh trouble arose. The newly elected Parliament was evenly divided between Whig and Tory, but willing to go to war. However, William alienated the Tories by dismissing most of his Tory ministers—even Godolphin resigned. But Marlborough remained. As Churchill says: "events had detached him from his party . . . he ceased gradually to be a party man," and both parties—except for extremists—respected him.

On 7 March 1702 William died; and Anne became Queen.

CASE 2. *The Queen's General: Meuse Fortresses to Blenheim, 1702-1704.*

ENTIRELY ENGLISH: THE NEW QUEEN.

Anne was proclaimed Queen on 8 March 1702.

She seems to have taken the reins firmly in hand: part of this may have been the thrill of power in one long humiliated and capable only of negative actions, now able to settle old scores. But primarily her intense devotion to Duty had by now developed. She loved England and was determined to serve it well: no betrayal into the hands of foreigners, no villains given power by the laxness of the Crown. However miserable she might be personally, she would become a responsible part of the administration; even if her intelligence was slow, she could laboriously re-check the written and financial evidence of the state of the nation; she could make certain (unlike her Stuart predecessors) that none of the revenues would be wasted on gauds and luxuries for herself. Included in the duty to her country was loyalty to the Church of England. Her firm conviction in this matter may have been partly doctrinal, partly because she had been forced to harden her position in childhood, partly because the wrongs which Catholic kings did to their Protestant subjects had been more bloodily obvious in her generation than those which Protestant kings had done to their Catholic subjects; but some of her feeling must have sprung from the knowledge that as a Catholic she could not have usurped the place of her father and half-brother. For she was as firmly convinced as any of her forebears of the principle of monarchy.



1. Anne's first speech to Parliament, 11 March 1702. In: *A compleat history of the late war. In the Netherlands. Together with an abstract of the Treaty at Utrecht.* By Tho. Brod-  
rick. . . . London, W. Pearson for T. Ward, 1713. 2 vols.

Note the inclusion of the phrase "Entirely English" in the speech. Although Anne was carrying on the war which William had prepared, these words were taken at the time as a slap at William and perhaps at Charles and James and their foreign favorites. Perhaps it was more of a promise; to modern eyes it recalls Elizabeth's claim of being "mere English"—after all, Anne's mother, like Elizabeth's, had sprung from the minor English gentry—perhaps Anne wished to suggest to the nation that she was the first truly reigning Queen since Elizabeth and would follow her example by leading the nation out of similar troubles.

This handy secondary work consists largely of quoted or paraphrased despatches, with some account of public politics, illustrated by maps of battles and fortresses.

The author was caught short by the Peace in the midst of printing: the running title reads "A compleat history of the present war."

2. Reverse of a medal struck on the occasion of Anne's coronation. Note the repetition of the words "Entirely English." (*M.J.*  
4. The serial number following each medal exhibited refers to the description in Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber, *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain.* . . . London, British Museum, 1885.)

On her accession, Anne dismissed William's foreigners and those Whigs whom she found most repugnant. She made Godolphin Lord High Treasurer (an office which developed into that of Prime Minister), a step above the office he held under Charles II and William. Sarah had been the Princess's Groom of the Stole, with the technical duty of handing Her Highness her shift on arising; the Queen retained her as Groom of the Stole, and made her Mistress of the Robes, Comptroller of the Privy Purse, and the Ranger of Windsor Park (since Sarah had long wanted to live in the Ranger's Lodge). She made Prince George Lord High Admiral and Generalissimo (both in name only). And she made Marlborough Captain-General (i.e., head) of the Army and Master-General of the Ordnance. These appointments may have been partly to reward the Marlboroughs with multiple salaries, but more likely they indicate how few people Anne felt she could trust. In Marlborough's case, she was carrying out what appeared to be William's ripest judgment. (Lediard, Marlborough's eighteenth-century biographer, says that it

was reported that William "recommended him to her Majesty, on his death-bed, as the fittest Person . . . to conduct her Armies, and preside in her Councils; as being a Man of a cool Head and a warm Heart, proper to encounter the Genius of France.")

The Government therefore consisted of Marlborough and Godolphin, ably assisted by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Robert Harley (later Earl of Oxford), a trimmer and plotter who was at the moment a nominal Tory with Whig connections. Parliament had a small Tory majority. The Queen had a Tory character, and a determination to use the best man for the job, whatever politics might dictate. But although Tory policy held that England should try to rule the seas and ignore the Continent, Anne still supported the war firmly.

#### FORTRESSES OF THE MEUSE, 1702.

The War of the Spanish Succession had several theatres of war: the Low Countries and the lower Rhine; the upper Rhine and the Danube; Spain; Italy; the Mediterranean; and the seas of the New World. This exhibit limits itself to Marlborough's campaigns, most of which took place in the Low Countries.

3. "Les dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas." Map, in: *Histoire abrégée des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas*. . . . Amsterdam, J. Malherbe, 1701.

Almost all the fortresses shown south of a line between Nijmegen and Bergen-op-Zoom were in French hands, except for Maastricht.

4. "Plan de Charles-Roy."

A recently built, but otherwise typical fortified town, improved by Vauban. Eachard, in his *Gazetteer's or Newsman's Interpreter* (1709) describes it as "Charleroy, a small, but very strong Town of the Low-Countries, in the Earl. of Namur, sub. to the Spaniards, and built by them Anno 1666, bombarded by the French in 1692, and taken by them in 1693, but restored to the Span. by the Peace of R. 1697. Its at present in the hands of the French. It stands on the R. Sambre, and Pieton, by the b. of Hainault, 14 m. W. of Namur, 21 E. of Mons, and 26 S. of Brussels. . . ." Such a description was designed to enable frequenters of coffee-houses to understand despatches and newsletters. Marlborough never did take this key fortress.

This map is part of a large collection of manuscript maps (MS J3:1) of Barrier and other French fortresses, probably drawn about 1680. Case 2, item 28, and Case 3, items, 5, 20 and 23, also come from this collection.

The "Allies" in this war were the Empire (Austria), some of the German states, Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal: each fighting for different goals. France was allied with Philip's Spain, and with Bavaria and Cologne. Savoy allied itself with whichever party was the stronger. Holland had been leading the Allies, and had agreed to contribute most men; but with the death of William there was no natural personal leader. Marlborough, the commandant of the English forces, made himself agreeable to the Dutch and the other Allies, and was finally appointed as Deputy Captain-General of the Dutch Republic in July 1702. This meant that he was the principal general of the Allies—in a position to urge strategy and tactics upon his peers, but not to command them. The Dutch whom he nominally commanded inhibited him by sending civilian delegates along with him to veto dangerous actions, to urge other actions, and to report mismanagement back to the government; the Dutch generals resented a foreigner being appointed over them, and tended to lag, and to disobey orders. Marlborough's successes in this war depended as much on his diplomatic talents as on his military ones.

5. *Campaigns of King William and Queen Anne; from 1689 to 1712. Also, a new system of military discipline for a battalion of foot. . . . By the late Richard Kane . . . Brigadier General.* London, J. Millan, 1745.

This posthumous work by an officer who had served under Marlborough and distinguished himself in the battles of Blenheim and Malplaquet describes each campaign in detail. The *Memoirs* of Robert Parker, an officer in the same regiment, which appeared in 1746, bear a suspicious resemblance to this work. A second edition of Kane appears as Case 3, item 2.

In early 1702 the Dutch had been defeated by General Boufflers, a former comrade of Marlborough's (see Case 1, item 6), and had nearly lost Nijmegen, their headquarters. Marlborough now persuaded the Dutch to let him march south, threatening to join Maastricht. This drew Boufflers away from Nijmegen. Marlborough manoeuvred him into an untenable position; but the Dutch would not attack, and Boufflers fled unharmed. The Duke of Berwick, who was fighting for the French, noted "This was very fortunate for us . . . we should have been beaten without being able to stir." Marlborough, wounded in his professional pride, actually sent messages to Boufflers and Berwick, assuring them that the failure to come up

to scratch was not his doing. This set the pattern for the year's campaign: nevertheless Marlborough cleared the way down the Meuse to Maastricht by taking Venlo, Roermond, Stevensweert, and Liège. These were the first solid victories the English had been able to celebrate for a long time.

6. Reverse of a medal struck to commemorate the taking of the fortresses on the Meuse. (*M.I.* 26)

The view of an attack over siege-trenches may be from the siege of Liège.

7. *A sermon preach'd before the Queen and both Houses of Parliament . . . Nov. 12. 1702. Being the day of Thanksgiving; for the . . . successes . . . by sea and land. . . . By . . . Jonathan Lord Bishop of Exeter. Published by Her Majesty's especial command.* London, the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1702.

Sir Jonathan Trelawny had been one of the bishops sent to the Tower by James in 1688, inspiring the song "And shall Trelawny die? Then twenty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why." When the Churchills and Anne broke with William, Trelawny retired from Court for ten years to demonstrate his support for Anne. The Queen especially wanted him to preach this sermon before her, as a triumph as well as a Thanksgiving.

Days of thanksgiving were proclaimed to commemorate victories, and sermons preached throughout the nation on the theme, many of them later printed. Such sermons could be political, doctrinal, or merely nationalistic: they make up a good part of the Library's collection of 18th century sermons.

On the way home after fighting stopped for the winter, Marlborough was captured by an Irish deserter from the Dutch service, but released "by mistake" (the deserter later turned up at The Hague and was given a captaincy). But the Army and the Dutch people were horrified by the report of his capture, and at once marched on his alleged prison to force his release. When Marlborough arrived at The Hague, quite ignorant of these reports, he wrote to Godolphin: "I had great crowds of the common people, some endeavoring to take me by the hands, and all crying out welcome. But that which moved me most was, to see a great many . . . cry for joy."

Anne was delighted by his accomplishments and wished to make him a duke. Sarah disliked the idea: she feared jealousy and emulation, and she thought the idea of a duke without lands and money ridiculous and disgusting. (Although the Marlboroughs were now

drawing large salaries and perquisites, they had little capital or assured income.) She advised Marlborough against it; he agreed with her argument, but thought that a dukedom would give him more influence with his noble and royal allies. Anne thereupon made him Duke of Marlborough, granting him a pension of £5000 yearly for her lifetime, and asking the Commons for a perpetual grant. Their answer is shown in item 8.

8. *The sense of the nation, concerning the Duke of Marlborough, as . . . express'd in . . . both Houses. . .* London, S. Popping, 1702 [sic].

The date of this pamphlet must be a misprint: the matter covered includes 1711, and Sarah Popping, printer, publisher, and bookseller, is not recorded as having worked before 1711. Probably the date should be 1712. The pamphlet contains votes of thanks and rewards to Marlborough by Parliament, and the Queen's answers thereto up to the end of 1710; the last page, in small type, gives a resumé of the events of 1711 up to Marlborough's recall: presumably the work was issued to cash in on his disgrace.

The Tories had long criticised permanent alienations of the public revenue to favorites, and they were feeling somewhat cool towards Marlborough because of his successes in the land war. The Queen offered the Marlboroughs an additional sum of £2000 yearly out of the Privy Purse, with the encouragement that "nobody need know it" (for Sarah was the Comptroller); but they refused it. Two other painful things occurred during this winter at home: the Queen and the Whigs came to blows over politics (both Marlboroughs supported the Queen, although Mrs Freeman kept urging Mrs Morley to see the Whigs' side), and Marlborough's only son died.

#### SINE CLAUDE VICTOR, 1703.

In the wasted year of 1703, all Marlborough's plans were foiled by his own allies. The Dutch were only interested in winning Barrier fortresses: their delegates were under orders not to allow a battle, partly because they did not wish to risk their men, and partly because their Captain-General had little experience with battles. Designing round their predilections, Marlborough proposed taking Antwerp and Ostend, which would shatter the cornerstone of the French lines of defense, control the internal waterways, open up

trade, and throw a bone to the sea-loving Tories. The Dutch wished to take Bonn (south of Cologne) first and thus open up Rhine communication with the Emperor. Marlborough acceded, and after the laggard troops and supplies were assembled, took the city. Then he opened his "Grand Design" to the Dutch: he would remain near Huy on the Meuse to amuse the mobile French forces while the Dutch offered a two-pronged attack against Ostend and Antwerp, threatening both. The commander at Antwerp would have to choose to defend one of them: then Marlborough would race up from the south, and with the Dutch take the other city. The Dutch agreed, but unknown to Marlborough they substituted a mere pillaging expedition for the threat to Ostend, and compounded the error with bad timing. It ended in a miserable defeat as Marlborough sat fuming near Huy.

As a consolation he took Huy. He then wished to attack the French line of defense which ran north from Namur. But the Dutch would not allow an attack and demanded that Limbourg (east of Liège) be besieged instead. Marlborough wrote to Heinsius, his friend in the Dutch government: "I would not again serve in the field with such obstacles and forced to depend on the unanimous consent of the generals. I would rather die than put up with anything like it again. No plan remains secret . . . there cannot be any discipline. . . . If the States are . . . of the opinion that my services . . . are . . . of any use, I will for the future command [only] the troops that are in the pay of England." He took Limbourg, only to find that the Empire and Holland both claimed it as their own. Marlborough persuaded the Dutch to give up the city, and went home in November.

9. *A short, but impartial account of the most remarkable occurrences and transactions of the two last campaigns in the Netherlands.* London, 1704.

Purports to be by a gentleman who had served in the campaigns of 1702 and 1703.

10. Reverse of a medal struck by the Dutch to commemorate the taking of Bonn, Huy, and Limbourg. (*M.I.* 35)

The legend "Sine clade victor" means "Victor without slaughter." The equestrian figure is Marlborough. Apparently the medal was disliked, probably because the figure looked too royal.

11. Letter from Sir William Simpson to John Methuen, 28 March 1704.

About half-way down the page Simpson mentions "the libels . . . upon the medal" and that the medals "are bought up and the dye broken."

Manuscript from the Methuen-Simpson correspondence (MS E82 and MS C163). This collection of over 150 letters between Methuen, the Ambassador to Portugal, and Simpson, a minor Government official in London, covers primarily the years 1702 to 1706, reporting the news on the Spanish front and in London respectively. Methuen arranged the "Methuen Treaty" between England and Portugal, by virtue of which port wine became popular in England.

12. *A critical essay on the modern medals*. . . . London, T. Goodwin and J. Taylor, 1704.

Probably by James Coningham, a Presbyterian divine who taught at Manchester. The essay defends the "Sine clade" medal by saying that there is no reason to suppose the figure is Marlborough, and if it is, it does not dishonour the Queen. The description of the medal differs: perhaps item 10 is a second version issued after the die was broken.

Marlborough wrote to Sarah in July 1704: "I have read what you sent me concerning the Medall. . . . I can't judge if Mr. Cuningham be in the right or rong. . . . Al that I know is that I wish there had been no Medal nor noe writting. For my own part I never heard of the Medal til it was given mee."

There was great disaffection at home concerning the War. No fronts but Marlborough's showed any victories. The Whigs were disappointed, and the Tories blamed the Whigs for forcing the War on them, and both parties blamed Marlborough. He, for his part, wanted to retire from the War to his pleasant country house at Holywell near St. Albans; and Sarah, suffering the trauma of menopause after the death of her son, wanted to retire from politics and Court life with him. Godolphin "repeatedly appealed to Marlborough to let him resign." But Anne wrote Sarah a letter: "[Your thought] of retiring gives me no small uneasiness . . . consider your faithful friends and poor country, which must be ruined if ever you should [retire]. . . . If ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication. . . . I never will forsake your dear self, Mr Freeman, nor Mr Montgomery [i.e. Godolphin], but always be your constant faithful servant: and we four must never part, till death mows us down. . . ." The Duke, understanding that the Allies had fallen into decay, and that the

French war-machine would crush the Empire in the next year's campaign, pulled himself together and prepared to return to the field; but Sarah, Whig politics whirling in her head, egged on by her son-in-law Sunderland and by jealousy, quarrelled with him seriously.

In May 1704 the Secretary of State, a Tory enemy of the Duke's, gave the Queen an ultimatum: the Government could not continue in a mixed state, part Tory, part moderate Tory, part Whig. Anne, putting loyalty to the country and to her friends before loyalty to the party which was hers by nature, dismissed the extreme Tories, and made Harley Secretary of State. The administration was shaken up, and one of the new young men was Henry St. John (later Viscount Bolingbroke). Sarah was distressed: she believed the Government should be entirely Whigs (except for Marlborough and Godolphin), the natural enemies of France and therefore supporters of her General's war; and she did not trust Harley or St. John.

#### BLLENHEIM, 1704.

On his return to The Hague, the Duke made it plain that he would not fight in the Netherlands that year, and he would lead only the Queen's troops. Three months haggling, and this was agreed to. In May his forces began a smooth fast march up the Rhine: a fine example of logistic planning. The French generals waited, watched, and followed, as he threatened to invade France first here and then there. Only in June, when the Duke had reached the Danube, was it plain what his destination was; by then the French had been drawn far out of position. Here he met the Emperor's general, Prince Eugene, a man with a military genius like his own. They immediately became friends, and saw the possibility of co-operation at a high level of understanding. The other general of the Imperial forces there was Louis, Margrave of Baden, who had been up to that time the leading general in the Rhine-Danube theatre, but who had become lethargic, and whom Marlborough and Eugene suspected of meditating treachery.

The goal of the three Allied armies was to destroy the army of the Elector of Bavaria, who had recently gone over to the French and posed a great danger, and to begin to win back Bavaria itself. Marlborough needed a strong point for his headquarters, and by a combination of deceit, audacity, and a willingness to suffer losses, stormed the fortified hill of the Schellenburg. Out of 4000 English 1500 were



killed or wounded, including many senior officers—a dear victory, but popular in England, except with the Tories. The Duke put pressure on the Elector by purposefully ravaging Bavaria, an action not considered honourable in gentlemen's warfare, although Turenne had practised it. He wrote Sarah: "You will I hope believe that my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt. . . ." It did neutralize much of the Elector's army, which was busy standing guard over the Elector's scattered personal properties.

On August 13, 1704, Marlborough and Eugene surprised the Franco-Bavarian troops under the Elector and the French generals Tallard and Marsin by actually coming to grips with them in the plains around the villages of Blenheim and Höchstädt on the Danube. Marlborough combined an irregular arrangement of his forces with a furious and stubborn attack and elegant tactics: by nine in the evening the plain was covered with French and Bavarian casualties and prisoners. At least 4000 more drowned in the Danube. The specific goal sought had been reached: the Elector fled with a few men to the Spanish Netherlands; Tallard's army was almost completely destroyed; and Marsin fled with the remnants of his army, no longer a threat to the Empire. And the War had almost been won on that spot. Churchill says: "From the moment when Louis XIV realized . . . the new values and proportions which had been established on August 13, he decided to have done with war"; now the best army in Europe was recognised to be the English army, and France could no longer overawe by its very name.

Marlborough's victory may have been founded on a small technical improvement which the French had disdained: the socket-bayonet, which enabled the musket to be used as a stabbing and firing arm indiscriminately. This meant that his infantry was not divided between pike-men and musketeers, and his multi-purpose soldier could be manoeuvred simply and speedily, dangerous both at short and long range. Also the Duke was a good quartermaster: his cheese-paring instincts, so ridiculed by the gentlemen at home, meant that the English soldier was outstandingly well-equipped and well-fed.

13. *A full and impartial relation of the battle fought on the 13 of Aug. 1704. N.S. in the Plain of Hochstette. . . .* London, J. Nutt, 1704.

A broadside: with a map of the battle ("See Anna's General. . .") and a diagram of the Allies' order of battle, drawn by Col. Ivoy.

This title also appears as a 19 page pamphlet "by an officer who was in the engagement" printed for B. Bragg, 1740. Disputants in coffee-houses, inns, and perhaps even village greens and farmers' kitchens could make good use of the broadside format.

This handsome and perhaps unique broadside has been loaned to the exhibit by Professor Henry Snyder.

14. *Mareschal Tallard's Aid-de-camp: his account of the Battle of Bleinheim. In a letter . . . intercepted, and sent over to a foreign minister, residing in England.* London, J. Nutt, 1704.

In French and English: French title begins: "Relation de la Bataille. . . ." Note the advertisement advising the reader to buy Ivoy's Plan (item 13).

15. *The history of the campaign in Germany for the year 1704. Under the command of . . . Marlborough. . .* London, J. Nutte, 1705.

Running title: "A journal of the campaign for the year 1704"; may be a re-issue with additions of "An exact journal of the campaign in Germany, for the year 1704. . . ." London, 1704.

#### A FAMOUS VICTORY.

Marlborough's plan to pacify all Bavaria and the Rhine valley was foiled by the wishes of the Emperor (who, however, promised to make him a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire). But before returning home, Marlborough cleared a path for the Allied armies to strike from the East into France in the next year's campaign by taking Trèves on the Moselle (which runs into the Rhine at Coblenz) quite peacefully at the end of October, after "a most horrible march day and night" through "very terrible mountains." "This march and my own spleen have given me occasion to think how very unaccountable a creature man is, to be seeking for honour in so barren a country as this, when he is very sure that . . . mankind . . . [will] think ill of him, should he have ill success." On the way home the Duke stopped at Berlin, where he persuaded the King of Prussia to supply the army in Italy with mercenaries, and at Hanover, where he charmed the aged Electress Sophia, Anne's heir. He finally arrived home in mid-December.

At home, the jubilation was uncontrollable—even a Tory's pleasure was only a little sour. There was an unprecedented triumphal procession through London, witnessed by cheering crowds from

every class. The House of Lords thanked him as "the unanimous voice of England." Even the annuities issued to raise military expenses were over-subscribed in two hours.

16. Reverse of a medal "Gallis Bavarisque caesis Tallardo cum X. Mill. ad Hochstad capt. 1704" (*M.I.* 53)

A spirited battle-scene; the obverse is a handsome bust of Eugene in high relief. "X. Mill": actually about 18,000, not 10,000, prisoners were taken, including about 6,000 wounded prisoners. (The statistics were appalling: Churchill figures that the French and Bavarians supplied 150,000 men to the theatre, and only 16,000 returned to France. Some 11,000 of the missing had died on August 13. 6,000 of the Allied troops died on the same day, and about 6,000 were wounded, leaving about 40,000 active Allied troops on the battle-field.)

17. Reverse of a medal "De Gall. et Bav. ad Blenheim." (*M.I.* 49)

Shows battle-trophies; obverse signed Croker. John Croker (or Johann Crocker) was an immigrant engraver employed by the Mint, who became chief engraver from 1704 to 1741. He worked on medals almost exclusively; most of the medals in this exhibition are probably his work. The gravers had "leave to make and sell" certain classes of medals including "historical designs and inscription for great actions."

18. Joseph Addison's "The Campaign: a poem to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough."

In 1704, Addison was a dilettante and poverty-stricken poet who had become a member of the Whigs' Kit-cat Club, but had made no other name for himself. There is an anecdote that Godolphin wished a poem written to celebrate Blenheim, and Halifax recommended Addison; and that the poet had just written "the celebrated simile of the angel" when Godolphin inspected the poem and was so moved that he appointed Addison a commissioner of appeals. It is certain that he was appointed to that post in 1704, and that "The Campaign" was a great success. He continued as a Whig politician, man-about-town, and literary figure, and is best known to us by the papers he contributed to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian*, and other periodicals. "The Campaign" is shown here in the Baskerville edition of Addison's collected works (1761), which includes Tickell's interesting notes. It is opened to a description (with angel) of the beginning of the battle. For the rest of his life Marlborough was to inspire laudatory poems: this is one of the best.

19. *Blenheim, a poem. Inscrib'd to . . . Robert Harley.* 2nd ed. London, T. Bennes, 1705.

Written by John Philips, a minor Miltonic poet whom Harley and St. John hired to produce a rival to Addison's "Campaign." His best-known work is a Georgic on "Cyder."

- 20-22. Sermons of Thanksgiving by White Kennett, William Sherlock, and the Bishop of Gloucester, Edward Fowler.

Fowler's sermon is opened to encomiums on the Duke and the Queen, and an anecdote of the Duke's miraculous escape. This is a typical H. Hills piracy—"Pirate Hill's brown Sheets and scurvy Letter". It is undated, but probably was printed about 1710, although that would be an inauspicious moment for reprinting such praise.

23. *The life and opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman. Vol. VI.* London, P. Becket and P. A. Dehondt, 1762.

Although Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* is outside the chronological limits of this exhibition, still Tristram's Uncle Toby may represent the enthusiastic country squires who brought down their maps of all the fortified towns of Europe, pinned up the one under siege at the moment, and followed all the reports attentively. Here Uncle Toby is beginning to fix his attention exclusively on Marlborough.

This is the first edition of this volume.

24. "Plan de Dendermonde."

Manuscript map from MS J3:1 (see item 4).

A fortified town on the Scheldt between Antwerp and Ghent. It had repulsed Louis XIV earlier by opening the dykes, and Louis believed it could only be taken by "an army of ducks." Marlborough wrote in June 1706: "Dendermonde is under water . . . if we had [it], Ostend, and Oudenarde, all this country would be covered." He took it in August, writing to Godolphin: "That place could never have been taken but by the hand of God, which gave us seven weeks without any rain."

Commons thought that the Duke should have "some magnificent and unprecedented reward" which would serve as a public memorial of the victory at Blenheim, and they asked the Queen to consider this. She thereupon gave him the Royal Manor and Park of Woodstock, and engaged Sir John Vanbrugh to build a palace upon it at her own expense to be called the Castle of Blenheim.

Commons also voted nine million pounds for the following year's military expenses.

#### THE FRENCH KING'S CONSOLATION.

But celebrations do not hinder politics. A *bête noire* called the Occasional Conformity Bill was again before Parliament. It was designed to establish the Church of England more firmly by ensuring that Dissenters holding public office could not make a show of conformity by attending church on the statutory occasions only, and

attending their own services for the rest of the year. The Queen, as champion of the High Church, supported the bill strongly, as did many Tories; but there was general feeling against it, and it had never yet managed to pass. This year the Tory extremists proposed a "tack": that the Occasional Conformity Bill be made an amendment to the Land Tax Bill and both be passed or rejected at once. Using "tacks" was considered ungentlemanly and unsafe; the motion to tack was voted down (splitting the Tory Party) 251 to 134. These 134 extreme Tories were hereafter called "Tackers."

25. "The French King's Consolation."

A manuscript song (MS P179) satirizing the Tackers. It argues that although Louis was defeated by Marlborough, the actions of the Tackers serve him: the implication is that Tackers are crypto-Jacobites.

26. *A list of ~~the~~ worthy patriots, who to prevent the Church of England from being undermined by the Occasional Conformists, did . . . vote the Bill . . . might be tackt. . . .* Oxford, 1705.

A broadside list of the Tackers.

27. "A list of the Tackers." In: *A collection of White and Black lists, or, a view of those gentlemen who have given their votes in Parliament for and against the Protestant religion and succession. . . .* London, S. Popping, 1715.
28. *The proceedings of both Houses of Parliament in the years 1702, 1703, 1704, upon the bill to prevent occasional conformity . . . with speeches . . . never before printed [and] reasons for . . . such a useful bill. . . .* London, J. Baker, 1710.

By William Pittis, a Tory pamphleteer who had stood in the pillory for his pamphlets. A first edition is thought to have been printed in 1704; this edition was issued to encourage another effort to pass the Bill, which was finally passed in 1711.

CASE 3. *The Queen's General: Ramillies to Bouchain, 1706-1711.*

The year 1705 was frittered away in the usual fashion, since Marlborough was back in the Netherlands. The Duke marched and planned; the Dutch refused the jump. He did manage, by a deceptive manoeuvre and a rapid night march, to surprise both his allies and the enemy into a battle which gained almost all of the Lines of

Brabant—the 60 miles of fortified line between Antwerp and Namur—and moved “the tide of war” thirty miles further west. But when he arranged a most elegant pitched battle south of Brussels the Dutch could not bring themselves to attack. Churchill calls this battle “the unfought Waterloo” and judges it would have obliterated the French power in the Netherlands. Marlborough wrote Sarah “My spirit is so broke, that whenever I can get from this employment, I must live quietly or die.” However, he had so worked upon public opinion that all England was now supporting the Duke and the war, and contemning the lily-livered Dutch and Germans; the Dutch people demanded that their Deputies give him more power; and the French, paradoxically enough, had begun to think Blenheim a fluke.

At the end of the campaign, the Duke went on his diplomatic journeys again: to Vienna, where the Empire was crumbling faster than ever, and where he agreed that Eugene, desperately hanging on in Italy without supplies, would be sent a loan from England and Holland; to Berlin, where he induced Prussia to keep its mercenaries out of French hands for another season; and to Hanover, where he arranged details of the succession, and tried to explain the vagaries of English politics.

Sarah had been working on him for years now, telling tales of Tory obstructionism and spite and Whig good-heartedness, and Godolphin, too, had been reporting a lack of Tory co-operation. The extreme Tories seemed so unreasonable that no government could be sound which depended on them, so the Duke and Godolphin, with the assent of the Queen, settled that the new election should return enough Whigs so that the Queen's friends should hold the balance of power. It did so; and Godolphin found that in order to hold a parliamentary majority he must make up to the Whigs by, *inter alia*, appointing a Whig as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Anne was grievously distressed by this, and only Marlborough was able to persuade her to it; on the other hand Anne was deeply offended by the extreme Tories who cried out that the Church was in danger and that Sophia of Hanover should be invited to England. Anne hated Sophia personally; and she knew herself to be the Church's best champion. The government which sprang from these politics is symbolized by a dinner-party in January 1706 which consisted of Marlborough, Godolphin, Harley and St. John, and the Whig personages Halifax, Sunderland, Boyle, and Cowper—“Somers was absent only

by chance." And from this time on the Whiggish idea of a Barrier Treaty (a "reciprocal guarantee of the war-aims of the" Maritime Powers) grew in England; and in April 1706 Halifax and Marlborough went to treat with the Dutch who no longer felt that having the Barrier forts held by the Empire would suffice. Halifax was ready to promise all the fortresses which the Dutch wanted; but Marlborough privately thought that once England had satisfied the States "they will think it more their interest to be well with France than with England."

#### RAMILLIES, 1706.

The Duke foresaw another wasted year in Flanders, although the Dutch had promised him a far freer hand. He wrote Sarah in May: "As I infinitely vally Your estime, for without that You cant love mee, let mee say for my self, that there is some merit, in doing rather what is good for the publick, then in prefering ons private satisfaction and Intirest, for by my being here in a condition of doing nothing that shal make a noise, has made me able to send ten thousand men to Italie. . . ." And he wrote to Godolphin that he had no hope of any victory unless the French were confident enough to march out of their lines. Happily, General Villeroy decided on attack, and marched toward the ruined Lines of Brabant; the Duke hurried to meet him, and a pitched battle took place in the marshy plains round the village of Ramillies, ten miles north of Namur. The action was rapid, brutal, and complicated, made up largely of heavy cavalry charges and storms of artillery, and ingenious infantry feints and manoeuvres. Churchill says it was the largest cavalry battle of which there is any trustworthy account, with some 25,000 vehement horsemen in a mile and a half of space. The battle took four hours; the French were shattered.

1. "The Battle of Ramillies . . . printed by Will<sup>m</sup> Raynor." Engraving, in: *Memoirs of the lives and conduct of . . . Prince Eugene of Savoy, and John Duke of Marlborough. . .* London, Rowlands and Stitchall, 1742.

John Campbell, whom the DNB politely calls a "miscellaneous writer," first compiled this book in 1735 from Quincy's life of Louis (Case 1 item 16), and Dumont's life of Eugene and Marlborough (Case 3 item 11), under the title of *The military history of his serene highness Prince Eugene. . .* A large new edition, with plates by Claude DuBosc, appeared in 1736-37 under the title of *The mili-*

*tary history of the late Prince Eugene . . . and the late . . . Duke of Marlborough. . . .* This plate is a crude copy of the Huchtenberg plate in Dumont; here it is entitled "England's Glory no. 11". Other "England's Glory" plates are scattered throughout the volume, but not in order. "England's Glory" may have been a separately issued series, the food of semi-literate patriotism.

This copy is inscribed "John Wilkes".

2. *Campaigns of King William and the Duke of Marlborough; with remarks on the stratagems. . . . By . . . Richard Kane. 2nd ed. Adorn'd with a map . . . lines and plans of battles. . . . With a preface. . . .* London, J. Millan, 1747. "Price 4s bound, without Cuts; 6s with, and 7s. 6d. Coloured."

Reissue of Kane's *Campaigns of King William and Queen Anne*, 1745 (Case 2 item 5), with a new title-page and leaf of preface defending the work as authentic, and 18 plates (uncoloured in this copy) inserted between the Campaigns and the New system. The name Marlborough must have proved more popular than the publisher had first thought.

Opened to Kane's explanation of the lessons to be learned from Ramillies.

In Churchill's words: "As Blenheim saved Vienna, so Ramillies conquered the Netherlands. Cities and towns, the masterpieces of Vauban, any one of which would have been the prize of a campaign of King William, capitulated on all sides." In Marlborough's words to Sarah: "So many towns have submitted since the battle, that it really looks more like a dream than truth." In short, the panic in which the French army fled inspired almost all Belgium to capitulate: the Spaniards in the fortress garrisons declared for "King Charles" and threw their French colleagues out. Antwerp, Brussels, Bruges, and other cities capitulated with signs of joy; Ostend—key communication with the sea—was taken by bombardment. A mopping-up operation acquired Menon and Dendermonde (Case 2 item 24). Some fortresses remained French: most irksomely Namur, Mons, Charleroi, and Luxembourg; and the French still had the line of fortresses erected on French soil. France prepared against an incredible threat of invasion by withdrawing troops from the other fronts, and Eugene drove the remnants out of Italy.

3. Reverse of medal: "Gallis ad Ramellies victis xii Maii MDCCVI." (M.I. 92)

Obverse signed Croker. The map probably represents the captured fortresses.



But the victors quarrelled. The Empire's "King Charles" considered these fortresses his own, by history and by contract. The Dutch demanded to hold them instead. England did not want to turn Ostend over to anyone. King Charles and the Emperor appointed Marlborough Viceroy of the Netherlands in hopes of keeping the peace. Although Marlborough wanted this lucrative, powerful position, and England was delighted, the Dutch were so distraught that the Duke refused it; nevertheless, from now on the Dutch mistrusted him politically.

At home, the easy cooperation between the Queen and the Queen's friends was decaying. The Whigs told Godolphin that Sunderland must become Secretary of State, or they would cause the government of the country to come to a standstill. ("Government will fall" is the phrase used now, but it is no longer so frightening as when no bureaucracy had been developed to keep the country running despite political changes.) Godolphin, although he was aware that Sunderland was an unfit candidate, was concerned for national stability, and pressed the Queen hard all year to consent. Sarah, whose heart was in it, ranted and wheedled and nagged and bullied Anne in a flood of letters. But Anne saw the candidate as radical, dangerous, disloyal, antimonarchical, irreligious—in short, a Whig—and personally disagreeable. Shall a Queen not choose her own ministers? She and her friends had agreed long ago that the Queen should be in the hands of no party, and what was this but becoming a toy of that hateful party, the Whigs? And how could a Duchess think she knew how to rule better than a Queen? That pleasant Godolphin had grown so grimly disagreeable; and it was positively unpleasant to open a letter from Mrs Freeman. In short, the poor lady was caught in the birth of modern English party government, but could not see her duty in any way leading her to make herself a non-entity. She knew Marlborough shared her views, and finally wrote him in despair; but he, seeing the necessities of politics, answered with coolly pitying letters. Finally in December she capitulated: Sunderland and Harley would be dual Secretaries of State. The Whigs were in power.

As far as the war went, Parliament, expressing delight at its progress, voted six million pounds to prosecute it, and settled a pension on the Duke and his heirs forever.

4. *A sermon preach'd before the Queen and the House of Parlia-*

*ment at St. Paul's on the 31st of December, 1706. The day of Thanksgiving . . . by Gilbert [Burnet] Lord Bishop of Sarum [i.e. Salisbury].* Edinburgh, reprinted by G. J. for J. Villange, 1707.

We have met Bishop Burnet before, as the translator and improver of William's Declaration of 1688. The encomiums on the Queen and the Duke are appropriate; but how bitterly the words "A Queen, . . . the delight and Admiration of all Her Subjects" must have sounded in poor Anne's ears.

In 1707 the Allies met little but disaster. The Duke and the Dutch played out the same old script in Flanders; there was a terrible loss in Spain; Marshal Villars broke the German lines and headed east into the heart of the inconceivably weak Empire; Marlborough's favorite scheme of Eugene and a fleet invading Toulon on the French Mediterranean coast ended in disaster. Marlborough did manage to reconcile the Empire and Charles XII of Sweden, and sent that wolf of the North off to savage Russia. At home, Anne found two new friends who listened to her with kind attentiveness and who also disliked Whigs: Harley, and her maid Abigail Hill (later Mistress Masham). Harley secretly planned to gather the Tories in a political revolt against the Whigs, supporting the Queen's Prerogative against party rule.

That winter there was great dissension in Parliament, largely arising from the conduct of the war and the waste of men and money. Harley won; Marlborough and Godolphin considered him a traitor, and delivered an ultimatum to the Queen. She chose Harley. The Duke and Godolphin resigned; but the Cabinet refused to conduct business without them. Anne refused to desert Harley; Parliament and commerce came to a standstill. Harley at length resigned, and the Queen was forced to recall Godolphin and Marlborough, who formed a new Whig administration (picking a promising young politician, Robert Walpole, as Secretary-at-War).

LOUDON, 1708.

France, encouraged by 1707, had found 110,000 men—raw recruits and veterans from other fronts—to make a supreme effort to win in the major theatre: the Low Countries. The inhabitants of the recently capitulated fortresses were unhappy under the Dutch and wished the French back; a revolt put Bruges and Ghent into French hands, ruining the system of Allied waterways. Eugene and

his army joined the Duke near Brussels, finding him exhausted and extraordinarily depressed; he collapsed with a fever as soon as Eugene arrived. Nevertheless, Eugene and Marlborough decided to cut the French lines of communication to Ghent near Oudenarde (18 miles south of Ghent).

5. "Plan de Oudenarde."

Manuscript map from MS J3:1 (see Case 2 item 4).

The battle was fought largely northwest of the city and off this map.

Marlborough made his usual neat fast march, and surprised the French command at lunch on July 11. "If they are there," General Vendôme said, "the devil must have carried them!" Inferior in numbers and with tired men, the Duke, with his usual lucky audacity, chivvied the French until the two armies broke into an impromptu piecemeal melee which developed into a situation under the Duke's control. He and Eugene achieved an eighteenth-century ideal: a "partial" battle, in which part of the enemy is destroyed under the eyes of the rest, thus ruining the enemy's morale at little cost—in this case the French casualties and prisoners were about 15,000 to the Allies' 3,000; the French army did not stop running until it reached Ghent; the French generals broke into vicious squabbling; and the young "James III of England" was an onlooker. Some 9,000 French stragglers were too demoralized for field-service, and were put to staffing fortresses.

6. *A sermon preach'd before the University of Oxford . . . 19th of August, 1708. Being the Day of Thanksgiving for our deliverance from the late invasion, and for the victories obtain'd near Audenarde. . . . When a Man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him. By Henry Stephens, M.A. . . . London, H. Hills "for the benefit of the poor," 1708.*

Notice the earnestly flattering Preface to the Duke; although a man may be enjoined to preach a Thanksgiving sermon, he need not write a preface; however, Oxford is only six miles from Woodstock where the great mass of Blenheim House was slowly rising, and perhaps Stephens thought it wise to be on good terms with his great neighbor. The "invasion" was an attempt in March by 6,000 men in French ships to land in Scotland with "James III"; it came to nothing, but aroused patriotic feelings.

7. Obverse of a medal struck to commemorate the battle of Oudenarde. (*M.I.* 148)

Shows a bust of Queen Anne. Reverse: "Gallis ad Aldenard victis." Shows conventionalized captives and trophies.

8. *A sermon preach'd before the Queen at St. Paul's, August the 19th, 1708. . . . By William [Fleetwood] Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.* London, T. H. for C. Harper, 1708.

Fleetwood was "my bishop" to Anne, who was partial to him although he held Whig principles. He was a famous preacher, but hated controversy; nevertheless, his open opposition to the Peace of Utrecht was to lead him into trouble in 1713—he was nearly impeached, and retired into private life until the death of Anne.

It was during Fleetwood's sermon that the most serious and public quarrel yet between Anne and Sarah broke out. Sarah did not understand that Anne by now had a mind of her own, nor how unpleasant she herself was being; she did realize that Mistress Masham was supplanting her (and suspected, quite rightly, that Masham was betraying all the secrets of the Court to Harley), and she was wildly affronted and jealous. She had been neglecting the duties of Mistress of the Robes of late, but for the Te Deum for Oudenarde (and her General) she came to London, chose and laid out Her Majesty's robes for the service, and accompanied her to St. Paul's. On the way she realized that the Queen was wearing a different set of jewels; she began to rage at Anne with this new proof of her inconstancy and ingratitude; on the steps of St. Paul's Anne began to reply, and Sarah shut her up before the crowd—Anne later writes: "After the commands you gave me in the church, on the thanksgiving, of not answering you, I should not have troubled you with these lines. . . ." Sarah pugnaciously justified herself, and the division deepened; Anne was suffering not only from the strain of ruling a froward country, of betraying her principles, of an endless bloody world war—"Oh Lord, when will all this dreadful bloodshed cease?" she cried out at the news of Oudenarde—but was nursing a dying husband. In September Sarah came to her to have it out; there was a noisy scene behind closed doors; and Sarah fled weeping from the Court. Marlborough, to whom all such things were poured out in letters from all combatants, wrote Sarah: "I am glad you have taken the resolution of being quiet."

LILLE, 1708.

The Duke now planned to invade France, crossing the line of French fortifications along the frontier by taking one of the great fortresses: Lille. Churchill says: "After Paris Lille, the capital of French Flanders, was the greatest city in France." It was rich and almost impregnable: Vauban's art had been added to the swamps which had always made it a refuge. Besieging such a city required courage, patience, supplies, and artillery; unfortunately Vendôme held Ghent, and without Ghent it was impossible to transport cannons from the sea along the canals to the Allied forces. The Duke tried to entice Vendôme out to fight; but the Marshal knew better. The Duke fell back on his Bavarian tactic, and sent raiding parties to ravage the nearest French provinces, burning, pillaging, and supplying themselves with food and horses; Vendôme held on. Marlborough, however, managed to get some cannon to the site, and began the siege in mid-August, hoping to take the city in less than a month. But the mobile French army under Berwick—now one of Louis' best generals—threatened and delayed him. It was repulsed; but Lille did not fall until December 9: old General Boufflers had directed her astounding defense which had cost the Allies time and some 14,000 casualties. Before settling in for the winter, Eugene and Marlborough recaptured Ghent and Bruges, and all the French troops withdrew along the coast down to Dunkirk.

9. *La campagne de L'ille: contenant un journal fidèle de ce que s'est passé au siège. . . .* La Haye, P. Husson, 1709.

With a plan of the battle of Wynendael, one of the subsidiary battles of the siege. Preface signed Cato: the British Museum attributes it to Charles Caton de Court, but he appears to have died in 1674.

10. "Sur la levée du siege de Toulon, 1708. Air de Beribi."

French satirical song: a verse on the left-hand page refers to Marlborough and Eugene thinking themselves masters of Lille.

Found here in a manuscript collection of French satires (MS C184:2) entitled "Vaudevilles pour servir de l'histoire anecdote, depuis 1707 jusqu'à 1713, Tome 5<sup>ème</sup>." Such songs were common: one may have developed into the famous nursery tune "Malbrook s'en va-t-en guerre" (see Case 5).

MALPLAQUET, 1709.

During 1708 and the winter of 1709, semi-secret negotiations

for peace were carried out by various parties. Marlborough was corresponding with Berwick, and through him with King Louis; the Dutch were feeling out a separate peace with France; the English Whigs were trying to determine how much they would support the Dutch in demanding in connection with their Barrier. The war had not yet become unpopular: Parliament had cheerfully voted men and money for the next year, and the bonds had sold out in four hours; but it seemed a reasonable place to stop "this wearisome war." The next move would be to alter the balance of power for good by destroying France. The winter in France was severe, and led to extreme famine; Louis decided to treat. The peace negotiations held in winter and in spring, in which the Duke represented England, were extremely hopeful; France conceded point after point, and the real problem was the relations between the Allies; Marlborough wrote in May to Godolphin: "There can be no doubt, but it will end in a good peace." The negotiations broke down in June, when France could not guarantee that Philip V would surrender Spain.

When the Allies moved forward against France they found that their new opponent, General Villars, had run a line of trenches called the Lines of La Bassée northwest from Douai through Bethune for about 40 miles. If they were to flank the Lines, they must take either Ypres or Tournai. The Duke wished personally to go along the coast by Ypres and strike inland by Amiens toward Paris; but he took the sense of the meeting, which was to besiege Tournai. It did not capitulate until September, which was too late to begin an invasion, but time enough for one small action; the Allies decided to besiege Mons, a strong fortified city about 27 miles southwest of Brussels, which would make a useful addition to the Dutch Barrier.

Villars and Boufflers hastened to Mons and dug themselves in near the small villages of Malplaquet and Blaregnies and through the wood of Taisnières. The terrain was all cut up by gullies and streams and woodlands; but Marlborough and Eugene, pressed by their governments, wished to fight a decisive battle. The result was a carnage that sickened Marlborough and England. It began with heavy artillery bombardment; it went on with desperate infantry slaughtering each other blindly in a wood stuffed with friends, enemies, and bodies; it ended with massive cavalry battles. Marlborough writes Sarah on the day (Sept. 11): "We have had this day a very bloody Battaile, the first part of the day we beat their foot, and afterwards their horse Godalmighty be prais'd, it is now in our

powers to have what Peace wee please, and I may be pretty well assur'd of never being in another Battel but that nor nothing in this world can make mee happy if you are not kind." In truth, the French withdrew, and Mons capitulated on October 20; but the Allies had lost 24,000 men to the French 15,000, and the French had fought well, had retreated in order, and their morale was high for the first time since Ramillies.

11. "Vue et representation de la Bataille de Mons ou de Malplaquet. . . ." Engraving in vol. 1 of *Histoire militaire du Prince Eugène de Savoye, du Prince et Duc de Marlborough, et du Prince de Nassau-Fries . . . par Mr. Dumont . . . augmentée d'un suppliment par Mr. Rousset. . . .* La Haye, I. van der Kloot, 1729-1747.

This engraving is by Jan van Huchtenburgh, a Dutch battle-painter and engraver (1646-1733). Prince Eugene employed him to paint the battles of his campaigns; in 1725 Huchtenburgh issued engravings of these battles as a book called *Batailles gagees par . . . Eugene . . .* with an explanatory text by Jean Dumont. Dumont was a failed soldier who had settled in Holland in the 1690's and turned to writing books on travel, on the history of the war, and on international law—his true interest. The Emperor made him Imperial Historiographer, with the title of Baron de Carlsroon. He died in Vienna in 1726; his works were carried on by Jean Rousset de Missy, a French Huguenot who had fought in the Dutch army until Malplaquet, and retired to teach school and write highly biased political and historical works. Rousset recast the *Batailles gagees* as volume 1 of the *Histoire militaire* in 1729. Whatever the merits of the text may be, the work bristles with views, maps, and detailed fortification plans.

12. Reverse of a medal: "Turris Castra Montes victi." (*M.I.* 207)

The scene in the shield above is the siege of Tournai; the other two shields represent Malplaquet and the taking of Mons. The motto is translated by Lediard as "Tournay, the Camp of Taisnieres, and Mons won."

13. *The progress of the arms of the High Allies from . . . Lisle to . . . Mons. . . .* London, B. Bragg, 1710.

14. A description of the battle. In: *The Tatler*, no. 64 (3 to 6 Sept. 1709)

The next number introduces a "Battle-Critick" who was suspicious of the victory because no account of the casualties had yet been published. *The Tatler* contained gossip, essays demonstrating the foibles of the times, and, in its earlier issues, news, as here. It was written by Richard Steele, who claimed to be neither Tory nor Whig



(and who was also responsible for the *London Gazette* at this time), with some papers by Addison, and sold for a penny an issue, which contained four tall pages. The copy shown here is the first edition in book form, published in 1710-1711 in 4 volumes.

15. Reverse of a medal: "Gallis ad Taisniere de victis Aug. xxxi MDCCIX."

Shows a battle in a wood. (M.I. 197)

Malplaquet was the last of Marlborough's great battles. From this point on his defeats at home were more important than his successes abroad, until he was finally dismissed and disgraced in December 1711.

#### A SKIRMISH NEAR BETHUNE, 24 AUGUST 1710.

Eugene and the Duke planned a drive from Tournai towards Paris, breaking through the line of fortresses which ran through Douai. Villars and Berwick harassed them as they laid siege to the fortresses: though the Allies took Douai, Bethune, St. Venant and Aire, they lost many men and the season ended before they could go further.

Shown here are manuscript and printed accounts of a typical small battle during the siege of Bethune. The letter gives most detail. Discrepancies in the dates of the accounts arise from the eleven-day difference between Old Style and New Style calendars.

16. Letter, 24 August 1710, from Col. John Armstrong to Henry Watkins, secretary of the Duke of Marlborough. (MS 101:5)

Note the postscript on the covering letter: "I have sent the whole story at length, that you may make the best on't."

The covering letter was acquired by the Library some time ago with other Armstrong correspondence, some of which is in case 6. The account of the battle was recently acquired from another source as an anonymous newsletter. But the hand is undoubtedly the same; and the folds and watermarks match.

17. *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Year the ninth . . . 1710.* London, T. Ward, 1711.

This is a yearly account of current events, begun in 1703 by Abel Boyer, a prolific Whig writer (once the French tutor for Anne's son) who found it profitable to concentrate on news magazines, annals, and histories. He took this text almost word for word from the August 1710 issue of *The Present State of Europe: or, the Historical and Political Monthly Mercury*, which purported to be translated



from the *Mercure Historique et Politique*, published in The Hague; however, the description of this action in the *Mercure* occurs in its September issue, and does not closely resemble *The Present State*. The reader may think that *The Present State's* description may be partially based on a text resembling our manuscript: it is dated "From the Camp at Villers Brulain," where Watkins (item 16) was based.

18. *A compendious journal of all the marches, famous battles, sieges, and other . . . actions of the triumphant armies, of the . . . High Allies, in Holland, Germany, and Flanders . . . [in] twelve campaigns . . . 1710 [to] 1712 . . . under . . . our . . . Hero John Duke of Marlborough . . . . By John Millner, Serjeant in the Honourable Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland. . . . London, 1733.*

A detailed narrative by an eye-witness, much relied on by Winston Churchill.

19. *Histoire de prince François Eugene de Savoye, generalissime des armées. . . . Vienne, Briffaut, 1741.*

By Eleazer Mauvillon, another hack writer, who even dabbled in science-fiction. The disarming preface explains that Mauvillon met a Hungarian while travelling; and upon learning that Mauvillon was interested in Eugene, the Hungarian sent him a packet of crabbed old manuscripts. . . .

20. "Plan de Bethune."

Manuscript map from MS J3:1 (See Case 2 item 4). Bethune was invested on 15 July and taken on 29 August. It was returned to the French by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

21. Obverse of medal: "Anna Augusta," struck to commemorate the capture of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire. (M.I. 220)

The obverses of the other medals in this exhibition which carry a bust of Anne use her normal titles: Anna D. G. Mag. Bri. Fra. et Hib. Reg. (Anne by the Grace of God Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland): this is remarkably Imperial.

Reverse: Trophies, with the legend: "Bethunia. Fano Sti. Venatii. et Aria. Captis."

22. *Memoirs of the present condition of France, and the strength of its fortifications. . . . With a journal of the confederate army, in the reducing of Doway, Bethune, St. Venant, and Air. . . . In a letter from the Honourable Ja. Preston, Esq; an English student in Doway. . . . London, J. Morphew, 1711.*

"An English student in Doway" implies a Catholic exile, possibly a kinsman of the proscribed Jacobite, Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanston; but this is actually an anti-French, pro-war pamphlet.

#### NE PLUS ULTRA, 1711.

In 1710, Sunderland, Sarah, and Godolphin had been dismissed, and Harley and St. John were at the head of the new Tory administration. The new Parliament refused to vote Marlborough any thanks, and stopped work on Blenheim Palace. It did indeed vote six million pounds for the prosecution of the war, although it planned to enquire into possible peculations.

Villars had constructed a last-ditch defense called the "Ne plus ultra" lines—"The Unsurpassable!"—running from the coast through Hesdin, Arras, Bouchain, Valenciennes, and Namur, consisting of trenches, natural and artificial marshes, and fortified strong points, well served by roads and supply depots. Marlborough dithered around west of Arras for some time, giving a nervous and irate impression, and finally prepared to attack the lines; Villars drew his forces together to oppose him in a pitched battle; that night Marlborough made the best forced march of his career (and the hardest on his willing men)—36 miles in 16 hours—breaking easily through the unmanned lines near Bouchain, which he prepared to besiege. The Scheldt and the Sensée flow together at Bouchain; the Duke stationed himself in their angle, and Villars, coming up later, took up a position to the southwest of the city, beyond and among marshes. It was a question whether the city could actually be taken: only Colonel John Armstrong (the author of item 16) had a plan. During August, under the eyes of France's best forces, the Allies constructed an astounding labyrinth of walls around the city and protecting their supply route, some 30 miles long; Villars was helpless except for his artillery. On September 3 Bouchain surrendered.

#### 23. "Plan de Bouchain."

Manuscript map from MS J3:1 (see Case 2 item 4).

This was Marlborough's last conquest and his last command.

#### THE END OF THE WAR, 1711-1714.

In April the Emperor had died, and the Allies' candidate for the throne of Spain had become Emperor. The war in Spain, where

"King Charles" had been fighting, was going very badly; Charles nevertheless delayed going to Vienna until October, hoping for supplies from the English; when he finally left Spain to take up the Empire instead, England was rid of the greatest obstacle to peace.

Since January, Harley had been secretly negotiating peace with the French. Louis had regained his confidence: he saw that Marlborough's fall caused by domestic difficulties could not be long delayed, and that the new administration was anxious for peace at any price. By October some of the terms had become general knowledge, but not that a secret Anglo-French agreement had already been signed. By November the new administration had discovered speculations by Marlborough and by Robert Walpole, the head of the Whigs in the Commons. In December the Queen dismissed the Duke from all his employments.

His place as Captain of the English forces was taken by the Duke of Ormonde, instructed by St. John not to engage in any siege or battle. Villars knew this; the Dutch and Eugene suspected it. In July 1712 the English forces withdrew from the battle-front through the contemptuous Low Countries towards the North; the disappointed English soldiers, suffering for the first time from bad provisioning, mutinied at Ghent, but were put down. Meanwhile Eugene and the Allies had engaged Villars in battle near Denain just north of Bouchain and were soundly beaten. Villars took Douai, Quesnoy, Bouchain, and a whole handful of minor strong points from the retreating Allies. The Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713; Eugene continued the struggle for another year alone, beaten by Villars at every turn; and finally signed the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714.

#### CASE 4. *Casting up the Accounts: 1709-1714.*

The Queen no longer liked or trusted the Marlboroughs. Without this alteration in her feelings, no politician, whatever his natural jealousies, would have found it practicable to mount a full-scale attack on the Duke and Duchess.

Much of the nation had grown tired of "this wearisome war." The present-day reader will understand how a war which was not entered upon to protect the home-land, but to keep a balance of power abroad because of a "domino-theory" prophesying successive conquests by a monstrous enemy, will lose favour when the war is

successful enough to keep the enemy from making any of his feared conquests but not successful enough to come to a rapid and complete victory. It seems a hoax; and the slaughtered but bravely resisting enemy seems comparatively innocent. The cost in money and in human lives was added up and found to be horrifying. The specific goals of the war for England alone were minor, once Spain was out of the question: a part in overseas commerce, acknowledgment by France of the Act of Succession and expulsion of the Pretender, and the demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk. As far as keeping faith with the Allies went, the Dutch were old enemies: their lack of co-operation had delayed the victory; if they won too strong a position they would threaten England economically and militarily again; and the ideal of their Barrier kept growing. Once it was sufficient if the Empire held the fortresses in Belgium; now the Dutch wanted to occupy them themselves and to control Belgian trade; what next? Moreover, many people had friends in France, Jacobite exiles or natives; how would they fare in a full-scale war, people against people, in France itself? It was reasonable to withdraw the only man capable of fighting the war as the simplest means of ending it; and it was widely thought that the Duke had deliberately prolonged the war for the sake of profit, fame, and power.

"FORTUNE OF LATE DOSE NOT SMILE ON MEE."

1. Manuscript letter, from Marlborough to Sarah, 30 April 1711 (MS P204:1).

Written on hearing the ill news of the Emperor's death. Note his growing pessimism. The letter is in standard eighteenth-century letter format: one sheet, folded, sealed, and addressed. The margin is damaged where Sarah broke the seal and tore the paper, anxious for news.

2. *A sermon preach'd before the Queen at St. James's Chapel on . . . March 15, 1709/10 [i.e. 1710 N.S.]. Being the day appointed by Her Majesty for a general fast and humiliation . . . for restoring . . . peace &c. By Robert Moss, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty. . . . London, R. Sare and J. Tonson, 1710.*

Sare was a respectable printer, who kept clear of politics; Tonson was the secretary of the Whiggish Kit-cat Club, and involved with Addison and his circle.

Politicians, whether government, opposed, or independent, found pamphlets an excellent mode of public discussion and a tool to inflame the public mind, ranging from moderate well-reasoned statements to vicious slander. Harley had a stable of pamphlet-writers, including Defoe, Swift, and Mrs Manley. (Most political pamphlets were anonymous—not only is it difficult to identify the author but also to identify the power behind the author: these hacks might be hired by any side. Moreover, a favorite ploy was to write a weak pamphlet ostensibly from the opponent's point of view, and then to attack it.) Attacks had, of course, been appearing against the War, the Duke, and the Duchess, since the beginning of the reign; but about 1709 the single shots coalesced into a barrage.

3. *Reasons why a certain great g—l has not yet receiv'd the thanks of either of the two Houses of Parliament. . . .* 1710.

Against the war; sometimes attributed to Defoe.

4. "The case of a British general." In *A collection of several papers printed in the year 1710*. London, J. Knapton, 1718.

By Benjamin Hoadly, later the redoubtable Bishop of Bangor. A Whig, he published these satires against the Tory administration: this one defends Marlborough.

#### THIS EXPENSIVE WAR.

5. *Reasons why this nation ought to put a speedy end to this expensive war. . . . Also an enquiry into the obligations Britain lies under to the Allies. . . .* 3rd ed. Lond, J. Baker, 1711.

By Defoe. First edition published 6 October; second 11 October; third 18 October.

6. *A view of the taxes, funds, and publick revenue of England*. London, T. Childe, 1712.

A broadside chart, covering 1702-1712; with an "Advertisement" on the debts rising from the War, which also points out that the Crown revenues are not as great as thought. Pamphlets with this title appeared in the same year; some are attributed to Harley.

Even this broadside contributed its penny to the Revenues: note the red stamp on the upper left-hand corner. The Stamp Act was passed in 1712 to make cheap (and seditious) newspaper publishing more difficult by requiring a tax of a penny per sheet of paper: this doubled the price of many catch-pennies, and they were ruined. Swift saw a good part of his livelihood vanishing, but wrote: "Have you seen the *red stamp* the papers are marked with? *Methinks the stamping is worth a half-penny.*"

7. The Michaelmas 1704 volume from the manuscript Quarterly Accounts of a Teller of the Exchequer; "Receipts and Issue of Public Revenue, 1699-1710" (MS G12 vol. 12).

Detailed accounts such as these are what item 6 condenses. This volume is open to a page showing some specific military expenses for 1704 and the funds drawn on to pay each one; other pages show, *inter alia*, Secret Service payments, the Privy Purse allowances, payments to historiographers, seamstresses, the Clerk of the Works.

8. *Anno regni Annae Reginae . . . primo. At the Parliament begun at Westminster the twentieth day of August, Anno Dom. 1702. In the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne. . . .* [An Act for granting to Her Majesty a Land Tax for carrying on the War against France and Spain] London, C. Bill and T. Newcomb, 1702.

This Act enables the Queen to raise nearly two million pounds in 1703 for carrying on the War, and lists in its 270 pages the exact amount expected from each area. The Land Tax is only one of the sources of revenue drawn on for military expenses.

Patents were issued to the Queen's Printer to monopolize the printing of Acts of Parliament; these private printers were the predecessors of Her Majesty's Stationery Office of modern times.

#### THE G----L AND THE M----Y.

9. *A true and faithful account of the last distemper and death of Tom Whigg, Esq; who departed this life on the 22d day of September. . . . Together with a relation of his frequent appearing since that day. . . . 2nd edition, corrected. . . . Part I.* London, 1710.

Crude satire on the fall of the Whig administration in 1710. Sometimes attributed to Defoe.

10. *The D. of M---'s confession to a Jacobite priest: as it was taken in short-hand the 6th of February last 1711. . . .* [n.p., n.d.]

Takes the form of a gallows confession: the Duke persuaded James to oppress the Church of England, betrayed him and tried to murder him; betrayed William; is now the richest man in England; tried to kill the Pretender; wastes men's lives; is not sincerely repentant.

Note that by combining a woodcut of a kneeling gentleman and another of a standing divine, the producers of this cheap little book were able to illustrate the title-page appropriately.

11. *The Duke of M. Catechism.* London, 1709.

An honest and patriotic countryman interrogates the Duke on the points which England desires to gain from the peace.

12. *The conduct of the allies and of the late ministry . . . 5th edition.* London, J. Morphew, 1711.

A strong, well-reasoned argument by Jonathan Swift, produced in November 1711 under the direction of St. John to persuade the new session of Parliament that the Dutch and the Empire had sponged on England. There were five editions in 1711 alone, and it was translated into French and Spanish, and inspired numerous replies and supplements. It probably was a large factor in the Duke's fall.

Sarah held no grudge against Swift, who shared her opinion of the human race. She later wrote in her *Opinions* (see Case 7 item 5):

"1736. Dean Swift gives the most exact account of Kings, Ministers . . . that is possible to be writ. He has certainly a vast deal of wit; and since he could contribute so much to the pulling down the most honest and best intentioned Ministry that ever I knew, with the help only of Abigail, and one or two more; and has certainly stopt the finishing stroke to ruin the Irish in the project of the halfpence, in spite of all the Ministry could do;—I could not help wishing, that we had had his assistance in the opposition;—for I could easily forgive him all the slaps he has given me and the Duke of Marlborough, and have thanked him heartily, whenever he would please to do good. I never saw him in my life. . . . I most heartily wish, that in this park I had some of the breed of those charming creatures . . . the Houyhnhnms. . . . I really have not been pleased so much a long time as with what he writes."

13. *Faults on both sides . . . by way of answer to [Hoadly's] Thoughts of an honest Tory.* 2nd edition. London, 1710.

By Simon Clement, although often attributed to Defoe or Harley, among others. Clement was a Quaker merchant, a connection of William Penn's, who was in charge of English affairs in Vienna from 1711 to 1714. The pamphlet appears to take a neutral, slightly anti-Tory position, but actually is strongly anti-Whig; it also inspired many replies.

14. *The story of the St. Albans Ghost, or the apparition of Mother Haggy.* . . . London, 1712.

This curious piece of scurrility has been attributed to William Wagstaffe (a young doctor), Swift, John Arbuthnot (the Queen's physician and a close friend of Swift's), or even Defoe; but the style is too dull for Swift or Defoe.

Swift wrote: "Lady Masham made me read to her a pretty two penny Pamphlet called The St Albans Ghost. I thought I had writt it myself, so did they, but I did not. . . . That is the best night place I have. The usual company are Lord & Lady Masham, Lord Treasurer [Harley], Dr Arbuthnot & I; sometimes the Secretary [St John]. . . ."

Mother Haggy is Sarah's mother, who was reputed to be a witch and lived at St. Albans, where the Marlboroughs later moved. Haggy is Sarah, Avaro Marlborough, and Baconface Godolphin.

It includes one touching passage, written in scorn: "Avaro . . . could not . . . Sit still in one Place for two minutes, never Slept at all, Eat little or nothing, Talk'd very rambling and inconsistent, of Merit, Hardships, Accounts, Perquisites, Commissioners, Bread and Bread-Waggons. . . ."

15. *The D. of M—h's vindication: in answer to a pamphlet lately publish'd, called [Bouchain, or a dialogue between the Medley and the Examiner]*. London, J. Morphew, 1711.

An attack, not a vindication; probably by Mrs Manley under Swift's direction. *Bouchain* was written by Francis Hare (later Bishop of Chichester), a stout defender of the allies and Marlborough, who had been chaplain to the Army in Flanders; the *Examiner* was a "ministerial" paper directed by Harley and Swift; the *Medley* was its Whig opponent, edited by Maynwaring.

16. *The representation of the loyal subjects of Albinia*. 1712.

Sometimes attributed to Wagstaffe.

The reference to Marlborough as one "who has been, perhaps, once fortunate" is noteworthy. Eugene visited England in January 1712, and Bishop Burnet showed him this pamphlet. The Prince found the example of British vilification amusing, since by its phraseology it proved that all Marlborough's successes but one arose from good management.

17. *No Queen: or, no General*. . . . London, 1712.

By Defoe.

Gentlemen usually accumulated the cheap pamphlets they chanced to buy, and sent off the heap in due course to be bound up, some eight or so pamphlets to a volume. When such collections fall into the hands of modern booksellers, the pamphlets are usually torn apart again—"disbound"—to be sold separately. Most of our pamphlets are disbound; but our Brodie collection came directly from a gentleman's house in Scotland. This is volume 148 of the collection, and packed with anti-Marlborough pamphlets.

## 21½ PERCENT.

The comically appropriate charge brought against the Duke was that he had held back 21½ percent of the subsidies going to Allied troops, and had been paid a bribe by the contractor who supplied bread to the Army, and had used these sums for his own purposes. His answer was that these were standard allowances meant to be used for intelligence work, in which it was customary and necessary



that payments would be "un-accountable"; and he showed the Queen's warrant for the percentage. He pointed out that the Army's bread was good, cheap, and plentiful; that the Allies hadn't complained; and that his successes had been founded on his excellent intelligence work. The Commissioners for examining the account had not been able to find any other charge to bring against him: an astonishing record for an eighteenth-century soldier.

Nevertheless, jokes about his close-fistedness had long been circulating; he was certainly rich now; public opinion was vulnerable on the point of the cost of the War; and, most important, the Government was determined he should fall.

18. *The report of the Commissioners for taking, examining, and stating, the publick accounts of the Kingdom . . . ; the resolutions of . . . Commons thereupon; with Her Majesty's gracious answer. . . .* London, S. Keble and H. Clements, 1712.

19. *The case of His Grace the D— of M—, as designed to be represented by him to . . . Commons, in vindication . . . from the charge of the Commissioners. . . .* 1712.

20. *The information against the Duke of Marlborough. And his answer.* London, A. Baldwin.

21. *The life of the late victorious and illustrious prince, John Duke of Marlborough, and Pr. of Mindelheim. Containing an account of all his battles, sieges, and publick negotiations; as also of the accusations brought against him before the Parliament: together with a compendious account of the affairs of Europe. . . . By an impartial hand.* Dublin, E. Waters for T. Thornton and W. Smith, 1723.

Probably published to profit from the Duke's death in 1722; running title: "Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough."  
Opened to an account of the charges.

22. *The political state of Great Britain for the month of January, 1711/12. Containing, in particular, I. What follow'd upon the D. of Marlborough's disgrace. . . .* London, J. Baker, 1711.

This is another Boyer (see Case 3 item 17) periodical publication, which ran from 1711 to 1729. As well as serving a newspaper's ordinary function, it gave abstracts of the chief political pamphlets, and

was the first regularly issued periodical to report Parliamentary debates accurately, despite disapproval by the government and by the printers who had received "patents" of monopoly in printing the votes of Parliament. (Boyer probably got his information from friends in both Houses.) The first four years were later reprinted as *Quadriennium Annae postremum*.

This issue was never bound, and is exactly as the first reader received it.

In February, the Commons censured him, the Queen received the news with equanimity, and impeachment proceedings began to be considered. In May, in a debate in the House of Lords, Marlborough pointed out the distressing position in which the Duke of Ormonde found himself, under secret order not to fight; on which Earl Poulet answered: "He does not resemble a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, in a battle, or against stone walls, in order to fill his pocket, by disposing of their commissions." The Duke challenged the Earl to a duel; but the matter was quieted down, and the *Examiner* criticized the Duke's uncivilized behaviour. The Earl was speaking with the same voice as *The D. of M---'s confession* (item 10) which says "I made nothing of flinging away ten or twenty thousand of them at a time against Stone Walls."

The Government, meanwhile, authorized Ormonde to take his 2½ percent, and his bread payment, and use it for intelligence and other contingencies.

#### "LIVING QUIETLY TOGETHER"

In June Marlborough put on record his opposition to making a separate peace, and retired to Holywell. There Godolphin died in September; and in November 1712 the Duke left for the Continent, over which he and Sarah wandered for the next year and a half, while Eugene was still fighting, and the Treaty of Utrecht was being negotiated with France. They were part tourists, part exiles, part heroes, and part curiosities; Sarah took it all quite cheerfully, as long as she knew they would return to England some day. They settled in Frankfurt, where he made plans with the Hanoverian Court in anticipation of Anne's death, which was clearly near; he also renewed old acquaintances with Berwick and the Jacobite Court. He visited Mindelheim, of which the Emperor had made him Prince, a few months before the Treaty of Utrecht gave it back to the Elector of Bavaria.

23. *A poem to his Excellency the Lord Privy Seal on the prospect of peace.* 3rd edition. London, J. Tonson, 1713.

By Thomas Tickell, a minor poet in Addison's circle. This effusion—which praises equally peace and all politicians, whether Tory or Whig—probably made Tickell's reputation: it went through 4 editions in 1713. It is open to a description of Blenheim Palace awaiting the retired hero; on a later page Tickell envisages the tourist trade:

"When strangers from far distant Climes shall come  
To view the Pomp of this Triumphant Dome. . . ."

24. *On the Duke of Marlborough. A poem.* By Charles Dive. [London, E. Curll, 1712]

The nymphs lament the Duke as Adonis, and mourn the lack of future victories. The author is otherwise unknown.

25. *To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, On the report of his going into Germany.* [London, E. Curll and J. Pemberton, 1713]

A poem praising the Duke, ascribed by Churchill to Addison.

Edmund Curll was an unprincipled man who would publish anything that would sell—preferably containing scandal. He published, for instance, a key to the characters in *The story of the St Albans Ghost*; that he would publish these two poems shows that there was a reading public still strongly favoring the Duke.

On the death of Queen Anne and the accession of George I (the Elector of Hanover) Marlborough returned to England and his old positions. But the spring that had kept him going for ten years was relaxing; he was no longer the man he had been, and his best pleasure was to sit quietly in Oxfordshire and watch Blenheim being built. He was formally Captain-General during the Jacobite invasion of 1715, but exercised only the most distant supervision. He had a stroke, and became very silent; Sarah concentrated her vehement love on him. Churchill says: "Sarah prowled around his couch like a she-bear guarding its slowly dying mate, and tearing all, friend or foe, who approached."

On June 16 1722 John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, died.

#### CASE 5. *John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.*

This case contains versions of the character of the Duke, as seen by his contemporaries.

1. *Letters written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, to his son, Philip Stanhope, esq; . . . Published by Mrs Eugenia Stanhope, from the originals now in her possession.*

The second London edition (J. Dodsley, 1774) and a Dublin edition (E. Lynch et al, 1774-5).

Chesterfield was born in a political family in 1694. When he was touring Flanders in 1714 in order to become a man of the world, he stayed with the Duke and Duchess in Antwerp, and it must be largely from this visit that he drew his impressions. He was a Whig, a diplomat, a litterateur, an unpleasant wit, and an enemy of Sir Robert Walpole's: Sarah left him a legacy rewarding him for the trouble he had given Walpole. These are the famous letters he sent to his bastard son to train him as a diplomat, written from 1737 to 1768 (when the young man died); the son's widow published them after Chesterfield died in 1773, and they became immediately popular.

2. *The history of the life & reign of Queen Anne. Illustrated with . . . medals. . . .* London, Roberts for Taylor et al., 1722.

By Abel Boyer.

Boyer relied heavily on his periodical work as a basis for this History. Published in the year of Marlborough's death, it contains plans of his campaigns. Note Godolphin's character on the page opposite the discussion of the Duke.

Boyer died in 1729, and in 1735 this work was reissued under a new title-page as *The history of Queen Anne. Wherein all . . . transactions . . . are compiled . . .* (Case 5 item 6).

3. *Bishop Burnet's History of his own time. Vol. I. From the Restoration . . . to the Settlement of King William and Queen Mary. . . .* Dublin, A. Rhames for J. Hyde et al., 1724.

Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was born in 1643, the year that Louis XIV came to the throne, and died in 1715, the year of Louis' death. He was a busy and learned man, involved in all the politics of Scotland and England during his lifetime, and his *History* is both lively and useful—although one of his victims called it "false as hell." He was with William in 1688 (see Case 1 item 14) and moved in the Anne-Marlborough-Hanover circles (see Case 3 item 4).

The *History* was published posthumously by Burnet's son: the first volume appeared in 1723, and the second volume, which continues the text to the Treaty of Utrecht, appeared in 1734. Numerous editions have since been published.

4. *Marl-broug s'en-vat-en guerre, pantomime grivoise, en un acte. . . . Représentée pour la première fois, à Paris . . . le 24 février 1783.* Paris, Cailleau, 1783.

The nursery song "Malbrook s'en va-t-en guerre"—better known to us as "We won't go home until morning" or "For he's a jolly good fellow"—first became popular in 1781, when a nurse sang it to one of Marie Antoinette's children. "Malbrook" has gone to war and does not come back; his lady awaits him through the seasons; his page returns with the news of his death. Grove's Dictionary considers it to have only a doubtful connection with the Duke of Marlborough; but although biographical accuracy may be poor, it seems reasonable that the Duke's memory would be kept alive in country cottages in this way.

This light-hearted skit—"grivoise" means smutty or licentious—was written by Arnould for his troupe of child-actors. (Jean-François Mussot, in training as a law-clerk, ran away from home to become a comedian under the name of Arnould, and became a writer and producer of pantomimes.) At the end of the pantomime the full text of the song appears.

5. *A view of the Duke of Marlborough's battles, painted by Mr. Leguerre, in His Grace's house at St. James's. . . . London, E. Curll, 1717.*

About 1708 Sarah had begun building a house in town on a cramped site next to St James' Palace, just north of St. James' Park. Louis Leguerre, who had emigrated from France in 1683, was in demand among the nobility for decorating walls and ceilings; he painted a series of the Duke's victories on the walls of Marlborough House.

"... how awfully serene!" This quotation sums up the impression which the Duke left on his contemporaries: imperturbable omnipotence. His public actions were designed to foster this, and if we had only the published evidence we would think him as cold, grasping, inhumane, unimaginative, and essentially unknowable as they did. But his letters betray him, especially those to Sarah and Godolphin: loving, anxious, tender, warily reproofing; overcome with depression and frustration; after long battle or wearing negotiations apologizing because his blood runs so hot he cannot settle down to write or sleep; listing detail after detail of plans and suspicions; suffering blinding headaches; seeing a parade his dead son would have enjoyed, and wishing he could stop thinking about him; enquiring anxiously about the progress of Blenheim Palace; and, time and again, dreaming of living quietly with Sarah.

6. Portrait of Marlborough and vignette of Ramillies. In Boyer's *The history of Queen Anne* (1735); see Case 5 item 2.

Notice the resemblance of the vignette to the scene of Louis XIV at Maastricht (Case 1 item 5); such scenes were suitable for painting, engraving, or tapestries. Louis owned handsome tapestries commemorating his battles; so did Marlborough.

CASE 6. *The demolition of Dunkirk, 1713-1715.*

The Treaty of Utrecht was a battery of separate treaties signed between the various belligerents of the War of the Spanish Succession (except the Empire). The main body of treaties were signed in April 1713 although others were signed as late as 1715, the year of Louis' death. England won from France recognition of the Protestant Succession, a guarantee that the French and Spanish crowns would never be held by the same person, the demolition of Dunkirk harbour and fortifications, some territories in the New World, and some commercial arrangements. From Spain she won Gibraltar, Minorca, and a 30-year slave trade monopoly. The Dutch were guaranteed (by this and two consequent Barrier Treaties) seven fortresses as their Barrier, to be garrisoned partly by the Empire, partly by the Dutch: this was far fewer than their desires, or what had been agreed upon during the course of the war, and, of course, far fewer than those which the Duke had conquered and which now had to be handed back to France. Smaller Allies, such as the Catalans, were left unrewarded and unprotected. France had made a good recovery politically, but her resources had been drained by the war.

The War, therefore, had not only blocked Louis, but it had given England a good foundation as a colonial empire. Nevertheless many Englishmen were bitter about the "shameful peace"; not only had England betrayed her commitments to her Allies and shown cowardice in war, but little had been gained in Europe but the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a base for raiders and a military and commercial threat.

1. *Tractatus pacis & amicitiae. . . . Treaty of peace and friendship between . . . Anne . . . and . . . Louis the XIVth. . . . Concluded at Utrecht the 31/11 day of March/April 1713. . . .* London, J. Baskett *et al.*, 1713.

Opened to article IX, on Dunkirk. Notice that the demolition by the French is to take no more than three months.

2. Reverses of two medals struck to commemorate the Peace of Utrecht: "Compositis venerantur armis 1713"; "Agunt in pace." (*M.I.* 257; *M.I.* 266)
3. Illustration of a medal: "Dunquerca munita et ampliata, 1617." In *Medailles sur les principaux evenements de regne de*

*Louis le Grand avec des explications historiques. Par l'Académie Royale. . . . Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1702.*

This medal was issued by Louis after Dunkirk's fortifications and harbour had been rebuilt when the French bought Dunkirk back from Charles II. It shows the plan of the fortification.

This Academy, founded to celebrate the deeds of Louis, was the precursor of the present Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, and was composed of scholars, antiquarians, and such poets as Racine and Boileau. The first edition of this work was a deluxe folio; this is a smaller quarto edition brought out in the same year by popular demand.

4. Plan of Dunkirk. In *The draughts of the most remarkable fortified towns of Europe, in 44 copper plates. With a geographical description. . . . And the history of the sieges they have sustain'd . . . [and] an introduction to military architecture. . . . A work very useful to all gentlemen, and officers in the army. By Mr. Boyer. London, I. Cleave and J. Hartley, 1701.*

Another example of Boyer's customary profiting from the war.

5. Manuscript letters from the Armstrong correspondence (MS 101 items 12, 19, 22, 24, 25).

Colonel John Armstrong (of Bethune and Bouchain—see Case 3 items 16 and 23), was put in charge of the demolition of Dunkirk under General "Jack" Hill, Mistress Masham's brother, who was governor. Kane (see Case 2 item 8) commanded the citadel. In these letters Armstrong informs the Duke of Ormonde and the Duke's secretary, Henry Watkins, of the progress made. Item 12 was written in the autumn of 1713; item 19 is a copy of the letter written 14 Feb. 1714 to Claude Le Blanc, the French official in charge of Dunkirk, and LeBlanc's reply; item 22 is dated 24 April 1714; item 24 is dated 22 May 1714; item 25, 7 August 1714, by which time the demolition was not yet completed, but the French were making good progress on building a substitute canal and port. Armstrong was Chief Engineer of England from November 1714 until his death in 1742. One of his interests was draining the Fens in the east of England; he may have designed the cascades at Blenheim.

6. *A memorial presented to the Most Christian King by the Earl of Stairs, upon the subject of the canal of Mardyke. With the French King's Answer to it. London, J. Baker, 1715.*

Matters are still not satisfactorily settled; the English believe that the substitute canal performs the martial functions which the demolition of Dunkirk should have obviated.



John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair, had served heroically under Marlborough in all the great battles; he was recalled in 1711 with the Duke and did not continue his career until the accession of George I, when he was sent as ambassador to Paris. There he saw that the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht were carried out, joined with the regent for Louis XV in seeking peace, and became the center of a network of spies on the Pretender. He was recalled in 1720, and in great part retired to his estates in Scotland where he practised scientific agriculture, laying out his estate of Newliston "in exact imitation of the military positions at the battle of Blenheim." He led the Scottish opposition to Walpole, and on Walpole's fall in 1742 was made commander of the English forces on the Continent, but disagreed with George II's reliance on his German troops; he nevertheless continued high in the army until his death in 1747.

7. *The case of Dunkirk faithfully stated and impartially considered. By a Member of the House of Commons.* London, A. Moore, 1730.

Sometimes attributed to St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) who was still active in politics at this date. During the events described he had been a minister in the Pretender's shadow government.

The demolition never was satisfactorily completed; every treaty between France and England for the rest of the century would contain an article in which France agreed to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; finally the Peace of Versailles in 1783 cancelled the original provision of the Treaty of Utrecht. Items 8 to 10 show Whig misgivings at the very beginning.

8. *The Guardian. 5th edition.* London, J. Tonson, 1729.

Opened to Number 128 (7 August 1713).

The *Guardian* is another periodical by Richard Steele, an Irish soldier, poet, wit, and friend of Addison's, who began writing plays in 1701, and, after Harley had appointed him Gazetteer and to other minor governmental positions, suddenly blossomed into an essayist with the appearance of the *Tatler* in 1709. He tried to remain neutral, but on Marlborough's fall found himself defending Marlborough and attacking Swift's *Examiner*. In June 1713 he resigned all his governmental posts to press for the demolition of Dunkirk in the *Guardian*; and, though the *Examiner* accused him of disloyalty, he persisted. He had been elected to Parliament; he was accused of uttering seditious libels and in March 1714 he was expelled from Commons. George I appointed him to a number of minor positions, and Steele was able to continue as a Member of Parliament and a literary man.

The *Guardian* had a short life: March to October 1713.



9. *The importance of Dunkirk consider'd: in defence of the Guardian of August the 7th. In a letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge. By Mr. Steele.* London, A. Baldwin, 1713.

Stockbridge was the town from which Steele had been elected M.P. This pamphlet is part of the polemics between Steele and Swift.

10. *Dunkirk or Dover; or the Queen's honour . . . all at stake till that fort and port be totally demolish'd by the French. 2nd ed.* London, A. Baldwin, 1713.

By John Toland, a free-thinker and hack, who wandered over the Continent during the War, apparently being employed by Harley as a secret agent and polemicist. On his own account he wrote against Jacobites and high-churchmen, and produced more and more obscurely controversial religious literature until his death in 1721.

#### CASE 7. *Friends and Enemies.*

##### SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

In April 1710 Sarah and Anne had their final quarrel. For some time the Queen had been showing a dislike for her company, but Sarah was unable to retreat into the persona of a duchess: this final interview was begged by Sarah to defend herself against reports that she had been speaking ill of the Queen; she told the Queen that she merely wanted to tell her side of the matter. Here is Sarah's story.

1. *The glorious memory of Queen Anne reviv'd: exemplify'd in the conduct of . . . the Duchess . . . of Marlborough. . . .* London, 1742.

A catchpenny edition of Sarah's *Account of the conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough . . .* (item 2). Here bound with a rude reply: *Remarks upon the Account of a certain duchess. . . .* London, 1742.

They never spoke again; the Queen sent Marlborough to fetch away the Gold Key which symbolized the Duchess's offices in January 1711. After her fall, Sarah busied herself with seeing that Blenheim Palace—so important to the Duke, although Sarah thought it far too grand—would be properly finished (it was fairly well completed by about 1728); with quarrels; and with composing self-justifications. She proposed to publish a vindication of herself in 1712, but Robert Walpole persuaded her to delay it; finally in 1742 she dictated an account from her sick-bed to Nathaniel Hooke, a writing gentleman

patronized by the gentry, who polished it. The book produced was not, however, ghost-written: Sarah's pungent phrases recall those in her letters, drafts, and notes to herself.

2. *An account of the conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, from her first coming to Court, to the year 1710. In a letter from herself to My Lord —. London, J. Bettenham for G. Hawkins, 1742.*

Sarah passionately believed in the correctness of her conduct and in her ill-treatment: the reader tends to be swept away with her, or else to disbelieve the whole thing except for those points on which Sarah innocently proves herself selfish, self-satisfied, querulous, and unsympathetic. Even so out-dated as it was by then, the book was violently tendentious and called forth a number of virulent replies.

3. *A continuation of the Review of a late treatise, entituled An account of the conduct of the Dow-er D— of M—, &c. In which many misrepresentations are detected. . . . With ample vindications of the Earl of Oxford, General Hill, Mrs Masham, &c. In a second letter to a person of distinction. . . . London, J. Roberts, 1742.*

Signed "Britannicus." The second in a series.

4. *The other side of the question: or, an attempt to rescue the characters of the two royal sisters Q. Mary and Q. Anne, out of the hands of the D--s D--- of — . . . By a woman of quality. London, T. Cooper, 1742.*

By James Ralph, an American who had come to London with Benjamin Franklin in 1724, and lived by hack-writing, scurrilous attacks, and semi-blackmail. He did write a useful history of the reigns of Charles, James, and William; it is not known whether this pamphlet was produced at someone's order, or to cash in on the market, or, possibly, from a sense of justice.

She died in 1744, aged 84. When the Duke died in 1722 she had been said to be the world's richest widow; she took the fortune and parlayed it into an incredible extent of lands and investments. Finance was suited to her temperament: for instance, she got out the South Sea Bubble before it burst, making £100,000 on the deal. She did not stop meddling in politics because she had lost her positions and her husband was dead: she noticed a promising anti-Walpole politician who needed money, and, in a curious echo of Barbara Villiers' investment in Churchill, she left William Pitt £10,000. Although she had worked at it, she had been an unsuccessful

ful mother and grandmother, and had alienated most of her relatives; but she truly enjoyed her feud with Robert Walpole, Harley's disgrace, and the comic sight of the Hanoverian Court.

5. *The opinions of Sarah, duchess-dowager of Marlborough. Published from original manuscripts.* [Edinburgh], 1788. Edited by David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes.

"I have been a kind of author," Sarah said, and she left more than 93 bundles of manuscript behind her, containing expostulations, explanations, narratives, history made easy for her grandchildren, jottings, discourses, and accounts of the vicious actions of others. The apothegms chosen by Hailes in 1788 come from letters written by Sarah to the Earl of Stair (see Case 6 item 6) in the 1730's. Here she returns to a favorite theme: her dislike of life and the human race; and here she says life can only be pleasant in true companionship—silently adding "lost since the death of the D. of Marl."

#### QUEEN ANNE.

6. "The glory of old England."

A plate showing the statue of Queen Anne which Sarah erected at Blenheim, with Blenheim Palace in the background, and transcribing the long "character" of the Queen which Sarah inscribed on the pedestal in 1738.

Curiously enough, the "character" is entirely friendly, without being effusive. Sarah said, in one of her calmer moments, that it seemed that "in the most unhappy crisis of time Queen Anne the wise, the good, the just, the honourable, unfortunately died & that she was succeeded by another of the same name but of a temper & principles directly opposite. . . ." Presumably Anne I is described here.

7. A letter from Anne to Sarah, 24 October [1702]. In *An account of the conduct. . . .* 1742.

Sarah's *Account* . . . is filled with letters from Anne. The loving phrases are common coin in them—even more passionate ones are usual—the gentle remonstrance against Whiggery is less usual.

#### ABIGAIL MASHAM.

Sarah had some poor relations named Hill, whom she settled in life. One was a quiet woman named Abigail, whom she made bed-chamberwoman to the Queen. It became evident in 1707 that the Queen and Abigail (by then married to a Mr Masham) were having

secrets from Sarah; the more Sarah scolded and pointed out Anne's ingratitude, the more Anne turned to Mistress Masham. Sarah considered that the Queen's mind was being poisoned against her; others, such as Swift, said that Anne was at last being freed from slavery. It is certain that Abigail communicated secretly with Harley, and that her notes reveal a cold little mind like a stoat's, devoid of anything but self-seeking and a thin little "nauseous buffoonery"; the reader turns with relief to Sarah's outrageous rancour. After the Marlboroughs fell, Abigail, Harley, and St. John formed a triumvirate to run the country; Anne was fearfully ill—Abigail was her nurse—and seemed to have only negative ruling powers left. In the last few days before the Queen's death, the three fell out over the profits, squabbling like cormorants in public; it probably killed Anne. Lady Masham and her husband retired quietly to the country when George I succeeded.

8. *A new ballad. To the tune of Fair Rosamond.* [n.p., n.d.]

A single sheet (2 pages) containing the text of a ballad against Abigail: "When as Queen Anne of great Renown. . . ." Internal evidence indicates that this version of the ballad was written in the summer of 1710, although David Green believes that this was one of two ballads which Sarah sent Anne in July 1708 against "your Majesty's new favorit." In 1710 Sarah mentions an "odious ballad to the tune of fair Rosamond, printed a good while agoe . . ."; in exile in 1713 she sent for her papers, including "the History of Abigal & the back stairs, to the tune of fair Rosimonde."

"Rosamond" may be more than just a tune. Woodstock, where Blenheim was being built, was the scene of Queen Eleanor's poisoning of Fair Rosamund, King Henry's love; and references were often made to this to flatter the Marlboroughs.

It is tempting to suppose that this ballad sprang from the heart of the people, but it probably did not; even Godolphin wrote ballads.

Lent to this exhibition by Professor Henry Snyder.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN.

Godolphin, five years older than Marlborough, came up quietly through posts in Charles II's court, managing to keep his feet most of the time despite the storms of politics. He was one of the last to leave James, and he always had a *tendresse* for the Jacobites. His experience made him First Lord of the Treasury under William, with two inter-regnums when the Whigs were in power; Anne appointed him Lord Treasurer, and he worked hand in glove with Marlborough from then on: the two of them equalled a modern

Prime Minister. He was shy, quiet, meticulous, easily frightened, and absolutely honest as regards money; he considered his life that of a slave in the galleys, and felt that he had ruined his health in the service of ungrateful sovereigns. Curiously enough, he liked gambling, and spent his free time at Newmarket races. Anne made him Earl of Godolphin in 1706, and dismissed him without warning in August 1710, allowing him to break and burn his staff of office instead of returning it to her; he died at St. Albans with the Marlboroughs in 1712, leaving one son, married to Henrietta, Marlborough's eldest daughter.

9. *Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer.*

A contemporary engraved portrait of Godolphin. He is holding his staff of office; this is the "White Staff" in Defoe's *Secret history of the White Staff*, a defense of Harley, Godolphin's successor.

10. Manuscript letter from Marlborough to Godolphin (MS P204: 2), dated by Professor Snyder as 5 May 1710 N. S.

A letter written while Marlborough was besieging Douai, and while Harley and Shrewsbury were quietly planning the dismissal of Sunderland.

The cipher which has been used for the proper names has been interpreted for us by Professor Snyder:

38: Godolphin  
39: Marlborough  
37: Orkney  
28: Shrewsbury  
42: the Queen  
221: Argyll

James Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, was a restive officer serving with the Duke's forces, and a creature of Harley's.

The letter was unsigned and unaddressed, for safety's sake; but it was common to use a simple cipher for names even in unimportant personal letters since it was usual for them to be read by unwarranted eyes; Anne, while still Princess, had written a note on a letter to Sarah asking the interceptor not to delay it long.

11. Last page of a manuscript letter from Godolphin, showing his signature. 12 March [1707].

Addressed to "My Lord [Cowper]," Lord Keeper of England from 1705, and Chancellor of Great Britain from 1707, who resigned in 1710. Concerns the Queen's answers to the addresses from the two Houses: Godolphin usually wrote the Queen's speeches.

Professor Snyder has supplied the date and the addressee.



## ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

Harley entered Parliament in 1689 as a Country Whig, but by 1700 was co-operating with the Tories, without alienating his former colleagues. He was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1701 to 1705, and was chosen for Marlborough's coalition administration of 1706, and soon began to work upon the Queen's opinions through her maid, Abigail Masham. Cowper observed his humour "was never to deal clearly or openly, but always with reserve, and . . . simulation: and to love tricks even where not necessary. . . . If any man was ever born under a necessity of being a knave, he was." Marlborough and Godolphin forced his resignation in February 1708; but his intrigues led to Godolphin's dismissal in 1710, and his own appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer, thus taking Godolphin's place. He formed a Tory government and in 1711 was made Earl of Oxford and Lord High Treasurer; but he infuriated the Whigs by entering into secret peace commitments with France; and he annoyed his comrade St. John by not seeking a Jacobite restoration openly. St. John and Abigail conspired against him: St. John introduced the Schism Bill which forbade Dissenters to teach, "which reduced Harley to the dilemma of either breaking with the Dissenters by supporting it or with the extreme Tories by opposing it"; meanwhile Abigail, angered by not receiving enough graft, influenced the Queen against him. He was dismissed by the Queen for inefficiency and disrespect in July 1714. He escaped being impeached by legal stratagems, but was imprisoned in the Tower until 1717; he died in 1724.

12. *The secret history of Arlus and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grandinsula. In which are discover'd the . . . artifices . . . us'd for the removal of Arlus, and the true causes of his late restoration. . . . 3rd edition. 1710.*

An attack on Godolphin and Marlborough, as seeking to prolong the war for their own gains, and a defense of Harley: Arlus is Harley, and Odolphus Godolphin. Written in a vivacious style: has been attributed to Defoe, Swift, or Harley himself.

13. Manuscript warrant issued by Harley as Lord Treasurer, directing Halifax, as Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, to pay John Elphinstone for looking after the Cottonian Library. Dated 12 January 1713. Signed Oxford.

In the Marlborough drama, Harley ranks as a villain; but to a

librarian he has redeeming qualities. He had literary interests: not only had he the good sense to hire Defoe and Swift as his principal pamphleteers, but he wrote verses of his own; and in 1705 he determined to collect manuscripts to illustrate English history; by his death his collection contained 6,000 volumes and 14,500 legal documents. The "Harleian Collection" joined the "Cottonian Library" in 1753 to form the nucleus of the British Museum Library. Cotton's library, on which Harley modeled his, had been presented to the nation in 1700, but it suffered badly from lack of proper housing and care before finally joining the Harleian.

Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, was another poetaster and patron of the arts: he had suggested the purchase of the Cottonian, and the compilation of Rymer's *Foedera*. He was an innovative financier and had risen under William to be Chancellor of the Exchequer: in order to meet the cost of the war with ready money he had offered annuities for sale, thus inventing the national debt; and in order to control public finance he had invented the Bank of England. He was a Whig, disliked Marlborough, and during Anne's reign held only the minor office of an auditor of the Exchequer; but George I appointed him First Lord of the Treasury.

#### THE EXHIBITION.

The text of this catalogue is largely based on Winston Churchill's life of his forebear, *Marlborough: his life and times*; some information has been taken from Marlborough's eighteenth-century biographer Thomas Lediard, and his nineteenth-century biographer William Coxe; from standard reference tools; and from contemporary sources. Most quotations have been taken from Churchill, or from material quoted by him, and follows his spelling; some have been taken from the item being discussed. Churchill has a natural bias, but on the whole he appears to be honest and accurate.

Professor Henry Snyder not only lent the Blenheim broadside and the Masham ballad to the exhibition, pointed out the discussion of the *Sine clade victor* medal in the Methuen-Simpson correspondence and in Marlborough's letters, and interpreted the Godolphin letters for us, but has been this Department's eighteenth-century gadfly, encouraging us to acquire pertinent material (and sometimes detecting its existence for us) and helping his students and us with his vast fund of historical and bibliographical information.

Although this Department is keenly interested in the English eighteenth century, we have no Marlborough collection, nor have we been trying to collect in that specific area. The items on exhibit have been selected almost at random from other collections of ours:

the 18th-century pamphlet collection (in the divisions Sermons, Prose, and Poetry); the Bond collection of 18th-century periodicals and related matter (which includes the medals on display); the Realey collection on Sir Robert Walpole; the Curll collection of books printed by Edmund Curll; the English Poetical Miscellanies Collection; the Brodie collection; the Summerfield Renaissance collection; the general Rare Books collection; and the Manuscripts collection. We have meant to show samples of the material available as evidence to contemporary judges of the Duke and Duchess: biased, argumentative, unreliable material. Modern historians, insofar as they have access to letters and other unselfconscious manuscript material, may be able to get nearer the truth than the average contemporary man; but it was the contemporary man who gave the Duke his name in history.

ANN HYDE